

AWAKENING PALESTINE

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AWAKENING PALESTINE

BY

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195324
7.4.25.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1923



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESSEX.

FOREWORD

THE object of this book is to assist English readers to understand on the one side the motive force and the significance of Zionist work in Palestine, on the other side the conditions under which that work is being carried on, the progress which it has made, and the problems by which it is confronted. Some unavoidable delay in the appearance of the book has interposed a larger interval than might have been desirable between the writing of certain of the articles and their publication; but it is believed that in all matters of importance the information given about Palestinian conditions is substantially up-to-date.

Each of the writers in this volume is responsible solely for the views expressed in his own contribution. The Editors tender their best thanks to all the contributors for their collaboration, and to Mr. Murray for the invaluable assistance he has rendered throughout.

L. S.

L. J. S.

May, 1923.

FORWORD

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THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

1938

1938

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THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR ALFRED MOND, BART., M.P.

AMONG all the shocks to, and changes in, the structure of our modern civilization produced by the Great War of 1914-1918, the ruin of old empires, the re-creation and re-birth of new countries and new nations, the re-orientation of world thought and world currents, the obliteration of ancient dynasties and the re-grouping of races, there stands out one problem, small in magnitude so far as territory is concerned, but profoundly far-reaching in its cultural and psychical aspects—namely, the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine under the British Mandate. Of all the unforeseen results of the great drama on the first act of which the curtain was rung up in August, 1914, this is, perhaps, the most unexpected. That the vision of a band of Zionist dreamers, who, patiently and with pathetic faith born of infinite belief, had upheld the ideal of the re-creation of the home land by the Jewish people, would become a practical reality as a consequence of a war between the European Powers was a contingency which the boldest speculators as to the future would never have dared to hazard. Yet now the Mandate is an accomplished fact, and the world will witness a great experiment, entirely novel and unprecedented—an attempt by a race which, since the destruction of Jerusalem, has been scattered over the face of the globe, and to a large degree assimilated by the peoples of the world, a race the members of which have in many respects become strangers to each other, and citizens of every country except the

one from which they came, making a joint effort to reconstruct from the outside the country of their forefathers.

The Palestine of the Mandate is, of course, far short of the ancient Palestine at the time of its fullest development. Trans-Jordania and much of the country behind it, Lebanon and its heights and valleys, and a good deal besides, have been excluded from the boundaries of the Mandate Palestine. There remains, however, the central core of the country which once flowed with milk and honey; and no one who visits it to-day and studies it carefully, with a view, not to what is there at present, but to what will be there, will not be convinced that it might once more be made prosperous, capable of carrying a larger population, able again to play a great part in the spiritual life of the world—a part which was always out of proportion both to the size of the country and the number of its inhabitants. Palestine, from the standpoint of reconstruction, is very much like an estate suffering from years of neglect and mismanagement—over-taxed, under-worked, and under-populated. In all countries which passed under Turkish rule there is a painful similarity of result. All modern developments and enterprise were not only lacking, but were actually impeded. Little or nothing was done for the population, and all modern aids, such as roads, transportation, harbours, drainage of swamps, and sanitation of cities, were left in an elementary or rather rudimentary condition. If nothing whatever had been done during the last fifty years to develop the country by means of establishments by Jews for Jews, and if the only representatives of the Jewish race were those who had remained in the country from the first and were practically indigenous, the experiment that is about to be carried out would be more doubtful of success. But, fortunately, that is not the case. The establishment of some forty-five Jewish colonies, due in many instances to the far-sighted munificence of Baron

Edmond de Rothschild, to the work of the Jewish Colonization Association, and of the Zionist Organization, and—in some of the most successful instances—to the energy and efforts of individual Jews, has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that districts that look arid and desolate, apparently incapable of production, can be converted without too great expense into flourishing vineyards, magnificent orange groves, excellent vegetable gardens, and fertile wheat-fields. In fact, Palestine has been shown to have large potentialities of development as a fruit country, a vegetable country, a cereal country, and a dairy country, situated in a part of the world which has much readier access to European markets than many regions which are at present successfully supplying them. Palestine, with its three climates—namely, that of the littoral along the Mediterranean better than the Riviera, the heights of the Judean hills, and the sub-tropical valley of the Jordan—offers in a small compass room for a great variety of agricultural products. Sugar-cane and cotton are both possibilities in the Jordan valley, where the banana also flourishes. Tobacco may form another important industry; and such re-afforestation of the hills as has been tried proves that the forests which once crowned them can be re-created. The olive grows as well on the Palestinian slopes as in other Mediterranean countries. In fact, Palestine belongs, not to the African, but to the Mediterranean region, and in character and climate has more in common with Sicily or the south of Spain than with the North African coast. This is a factor which will affect the future development and reproduction of those human elements which will be introduced by Jewish re-immigration, for although the Jewish people are of Eastern origin, they have long been acclimatized to more Northern latitudes, and probably would find a difficulty in maintaining continuous growth and fertility in a country whose climate approached the tropical. But undoubtedly the Mediterranean climate is one in which an Eastern or

Southern race can be assured of continued fertility, which, of course, is essential to the maintenance of any lasting settlement.

Among the resources of Palestine a high place must be given to its natural harbour at Haifa, which only requires ordinary engineering skill and the necessary capital expenditure to convert it into a port of first-rate importance. Haifa is the natural outlet of a large and fertile hinterland, while possibly in the future it may become the exit for the oil and other products of Mesopotamia. There remain also the industrial developments of Palestine, which are undoubtedly promising. The production of cheap electric power seems to be assured by the utilization of the waters of the Jordan, and will be capable of great extension by harnessing the other streams that flow into the lake of Tiberias. There is also the possibility of petroleum, phosphates, and other minerals being discovered in paying quantities, as thus far no sufficiently careful investigation has been made in this direction.

In view, however, of the predominantly agricultural character of Palestinian resources, it may fairly be asked why, of all the peoples of the world, the Jews, confined for so many centuries in the ghettos of Europe, and on the whole town-dwellers, can be looked upon as possible material to develop such a mainly agricultural country. Well, Mother Earth is the natural cradle of the whole human race, and the cultivation of the land a primeval instinct of the human being. In this respect the Jew is much like the other peoples of the world. Indeed, he is much more of a land cultivator in many parts of Central Europe, in the Balkans, and parts of the East, and even in countries like Canada, than is generally supposed. When I was in Palestine I met representatives of a considerable Jewish community of Canadian farmers who had been extremely successful agriculturists west of Winnipeg, and who, after a long study of the conditions in Palestine, were preparing to bring their entire community, equipped

with the most modern outfits and appliances, to take up a large tract of land there for farming. Modern agriculture, and more especially fruit-growing, requires a higher degree of education and intelligence, and especially of care, than is needed in countries which grow large quantities of cereals. Anyone who has visited the flourishing Jewish colonies already mentioned cannot fail to be struck by the great success in agriculture of a people who have come almost exclusively from Russia and Poland. Indeed, one of the most remarkable phenomena which I observed in Palestine was the magnificent generation of young men and women who were being born and reared in the Palestinian colonies, sons and daughters of the soil, with all the characteristics of those who had grown up under those natural and healthy conditions which open air and work on the land carry with them.

At present, perhaps, the development of the country may be somewhat disorganized in spite of the effort and thought that is being given to it by Jewry throughout the world. From all parts Jews are either going to Palestine or are occupied with the question how to develop it. As they are a very individualistic and argumentative people, the progress attained by them will proceed by many different rivulets rather than in one majestic stream. But it is proceeding, and will proceed. No doubt there will be mistakes and failures, as in all human efforts, but they will be unimportant a hundred years hence. There is a magnetic attraction, something almost mystic, in this whole movement which it is impossible to analyze. It is felt by some as a great force, and if not felt cannot be explained. All the many disputations that have raged, the echoes of some of which are still heard, will seem curiously futile when the necessary time has elapsed—and time is of the essence of the problem—and when success has been achieved.

Of course, any mere transplanting of a considerable number of Jews from different countries—mostly

from Central Europe—into Palestine would not of itself be of any greater interest to the world at large than the emigration by any other people into any of the unoccupied spaces of the earth. What gives this problem its significance and importance is the question of what will be the social and psychical development of this people of Eastern origin, but of Western culture and education, when again established in the surroundings where they once produced religion-givers and great thinkers of the world. A purely material Palestine, although of value to the economic structure of civilization, and undoubtedly a centre of commercial developments throughout the Eastern regions—in fact, a connecting link between European producers and Eastern customers—would be a very one-sided and unsatisfactory result of all this world-wide effort. The question is whether the Jew can produce any distinctive thought, literature, art, or any new form of social organization—not merely an assimilated product, but something entirely and conclusively his own—when once placed under conditions to do so—that is to say, when he is no longer merely a small *enclave*, as he has been throughout so many ages, in the midst of an enormous and overwhelming foreign environment. The answer to this will be of the highest interest to the observers of mankind. Thus far experience in Palestine shows that its Jewish population has a burning desire for knowledge and education, which is a strong characteristic of the race. Its schools, high schools, technical institutes, art schools, its agricultural training and research college, are all remarkable in view of the size of the population for which they have to provide and the unfavourable conditions with which they have had to contend. The enthusiasm aroused by the idea of a great Jewish University in Jerusalem, which is well on the way to realization, is in itself a guarantee against a purely materialistic conception being allowed to gain the upper hand. The economic basis must be there. The population must be created and allowed to develop.

The seat of learning must be based upon a broad foundation, with adequate financial support, and be capable of attracting students from a wide area. For although Palestine will undoubtedly have to be developed in the first instance from the outside by the Jewry of the world, if it is to become a great thing with its own character and its own life, this can only be achieved by its becoming self-supporting in every sense of the word, and not the mere protégé of Jewry in other countries. Too much outside assistance would endanger the self-reliance of the Jewish population of Palestine; for, as in a family, children who have to make no effort for themselves, but depend entirely on parental supervision and support, will not develop that energy and individuality which characterizes those who are thrown early into the struggle for life, and have to fight their own way, so also communities situated similarly will naturally develop similar characteristics.

To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding in contemplating this picture of the future, some reference is necessary to the position of the large Arab, or more correctly native, population living in Palestine. It might otherwise be imagined that the ideal involved and the execution of it must of necessity react to the detriment of what is at the present time a large majority of the population of the country. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this is by no means the case. The problem is often posed as one of a mere counting of heads, a mistake not uncommon in an age in which the vote of an illiterate counts for as much in the national welfare as that of the most learned member of the community. The development, however, and the spiritual impress of a country is not, and never has been, a mere reflex of the size of its population. It is much more a question of the mental capacity, energy, and diligence of individuals than merely a mass problem. The Jewish national home in Palestine is not a question of whether there are more Jews or Arabs

in the country at a given moment. Nor does it even depend essentially upon the political form of government. Undoubtedly a larger community than at present exists there is required, but the quality of that community and its ideals will be more important than its mere numerical strength. In time, no doubt, the Jewish population will become very considerable, for, as has been pointed out in the earlier part of this article, Palestine is a deserted country with a population of 600,000 to 700,000 people on an area that has been estimated by conservative experts as capable of supporting 3,000,000, if not considerably more. In the reconstruction of Palestine, even if so desired by those who are attempting this task, it would be impossible to ignore or to refuse to co-operate with the Arab population. Palestine cannot be an isolated or singular phenomenon in the Near East. It obviously must be connected by commerce and its general life with Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the whole complex of Arab and Mohammedan civilization. The Jewish community in Palestine will also always be the centre, but at the same time a part, of the Jewish communities throughout the East, and, indeed, throughout the Mohammedan world, in which Jewish communities are both numerous and influential. The attempt to create a Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine, an artificial rivalry between two branches of the Semitic race which sprang originally from a common stock, must, with any exercise of common-sense, restraint, and good-will, result in abject failure. The economic development of Palestine must also be to the advantage of all those living and working in the country. Prosperity cannot be made racial, nor be confined to people of any particular nationality or creed. All who live within a certain economic complex are bound to benefit by its progress. Indeed, it is to the advantage of a somewhat backward and more contemplative people, lacking in the financial means required for economic development, that there should come into the country people

with modern knowledge, energy, and the necessary means to provide the basis of such common services as cheap transport, cheap power, and harbour facilities, as well as the modern methods and experiments in developing agriculture, which are bound to be one of the results of the Jewish efforts in the country.

The increased population will not necessarily be all of the Jewish race. Other Mediterranean folk may also make their home in Palestine. But it is the Jews who will provide the largest proportion of those who are prepared to employ capital and energy for the re-birth of the country which they might invest in other parts of the world with equal, or even greater, profit. No other people can possibly have the same interest or the same feeling in the matter. When one has seen, as I have, young men and women, many of whom were the survivors of massacred families of good birth, position, and education in Russia, cheerfully undertaking the hard work of road construction, not merely as a means of livelihood, but with the enthusiasm and zeal of pioneers, who are not just making a road, but who feel that every stone they bring to the site and roll to the road helps to re-create the Palestine from which their race had been so long separated, one knows that, although it might be possible to engage more efficient navvies to do the job, they would merely make roads in Palestine as they would do anywhere else if they were paid to do so; their work would be with their hands and not with their hearts. That is why the reconstruction of Palestine must be done by the Jews or not at all, and that is why the Jews of the world have watched for the granting of the Mandate as one of the great events in the history of the world. They have, perhaps, even exaggerated its importance; they may have expected too much, something great and important, and are possibly doomed to some disappointment and discouragement. But all this does not matter. The British Government and the British people, with the exception of a few whose vision has

become obscured by an extreme phase of a misconceived Pan-Islamism, and of a blind prejudice against the Jews in particular, have performed a very remarkable and very courageous act of far-sighted statesmanship in burdening themselves with the Mandate for Palestine, further complicated by the Balfour Declaration.

There is one point in common between the British people and the Jews, and that is tenacity of purpose. Just as the British people have not allowed themselves, in spite of war-weariness and their many difficult problems at home and abroad, to abandon the promise they gave to Jewry during the war, equally little will the Jewish race throughout the world allow themselves to be diverted from their efforts to rebuild Palestine. The process will be long and laborious, the final fruition will not come until a far-distant date, but the ultimate result is no longer a matter of argument or doubt.

IN PALESTINE NOW

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

FOR many generations now the call of Palestine has sunk to a whisper in the ears of the West, and latterly it has even happened that the tourist in search of sights has, outside Russia, taken the place of the pilgrim pursuing holiness. When I met on the hills of Judah the whirlwind rush of "Palestine Trip, No. 6," it was hard to think of Peter the Hermit, the Easter Pilgrimage, or the Return of the Chosen People to Zion. And yet the whirlwind passed and left me alone in the companionship of men and events that had "outsoared the shadows of our night." Down on the coast on the sands by Jaffa, however, I met with an incursion that did no violence to the Palestine which was holy ground. It had come from across the sea, and yet it was Palestinian; it was bronzed and bearded to look at, rough and workmanlike in its demeanour and attire, but whether it was fleeing from wrath or seeking a traditional home, it had enthusiasm in its heart and ardour for the future. Its white tents stood in rows and squares on the sand; it had its emigrant equipment piled and labelled in its appropriate places; it had its commandant and its secretariat, its forms all filled in and filed, its catalogues and its indexes, in touch with the organization and work of settlement outside; it was the place of mobilization and distribution, and in a few days I might meet the men and women again on roads, in marshes, in fields enriching the country by their toil. The sea breezes blew up over the Mediterranean; Jaffa crowded the hill that ended the bay to the south, keeping an eye upon this last invasion from

the West; and the chimneys and roofs of Tel-Aviv, the new Jewish suburb, rose up over the sand hills behind.

Tel-Aviv is like a proclamation that the Return has begun in good earnest. Only a short time ago there was nothing but blown sand, apparently secure from intrusion by man. Even now it has not given up its fight to be a desert. It blows upon the streets and would fain bury them; it seeks cracks and crannies in the houses and would fain go in and occupy them; it assaults the wayfarers with its myriad stinging missiles. But it is doomed. Trees are growing, gardens have been fenced off, streets stretch outwards, and, in the place of the loose sand hummocks, rise houses, shops, hotels, and public buildings. They show you great plans of further development on Garden City lines, and take you out along a sandy track that seems to have been struck out of sheer boastfulness in defiance to the reigning desolation, to the new artificial stone-works, where they introduce you with pride to great engines that shine with efficiency, gangways, tanks, pressing machinery that overwhelm you with a sense of their power, and they explain how they are using their enemy the sand to vanquish itself by turning it into the blocks from which they are to build their houses and lay their roads. In one day they can make enough stones to build a house. This new crusade means business.

In their minds they are building something which is not of stone and lime. When one walks through Tel-Aviv and sees its trim fresh houses, its shops, its little factories, its printing establishments, the illusion of Palestine vanishes. One feels as though this place were across no sea, as though it were a short railway journey from London or any other Western town. It might be an English watering-place with a Continental touch about it. But when one has done the sights and sits down in the bright sun-bathed room in the hotel whither I was brought, and asks from the interested

ones the meaning and purpose of it, the material conditions fade and the idealism behind it comes out. Then one begins to understand the nature of the Return; and this mingling of work and faith, of materialist energy and idealist spirit, meets one throughout Palestine.

Another day I stood on the bridge that the Jewish Labour Corps is building over the Jordan where it comes from the Lake of Galilee. A great volume of water rushed with enormous power below. Next day I went up the Yarmuk, which pours down from the high Trans-Jordanian plateau in great waterfalls and wild tossing rapids. Then was explained to me Mr. Rutenberg's great scheme for harnessing these floods, and using them for electric power and irrigation. When finished, this scheme will distribute power to many settlements, where it will give impetus to industry, and it will at the same time widen the area of fruitful soil. This, however, is not a mere economic venture, an investment for capital, and an opportunity for labour. They speak of it and dream of it with reverence. It is to make Palestine blossom; it is to give it comfort; it is a project for the enrichment of the land. There is even an idealism in the raising of the capital which makes it different from the schemes hatched in financial offices and floated upon money markets. From the rising to the setting sun, wherever there are organizations of the faithful with the thoughts of Palestine in their hearts and some spare money in their coffers, the capital for this work is being raised; in the countries where money is little better than dross when turned by exchange into Egyptian pounds (the currency of Palestine) men are giving labour and are sending their contributions in kind. I have a suspicion that this is the explanation of the opposition offered to the scheme in some financial and political quarters. Reverence and finance are rarely met with together, but when they are their combination is refreshing. The Jew has generally managed to keep his love of culture and

his love of coin in two separate compartments, but here he lets them freely mingle together, and when he thinks of the completed Jordan engineering scheme, financial profit is not the result that delights his heart, but green fields, fruitful orchards, and a people reaping ample rewards of a human and spiritual kind.

When the word went forth that the gateways of Palestine, long closed upon the Jew, had been opened to him, he perhaps was too buoyant. He saw a Palestinian State sprung like a miracle from nothing, and an oppressed and scattered remnant suddenly occupying the seats of authority. That was a very human mistake, and one that speedily vanished. It did not take with it, however, the will to lay the foundations of such a State by patient work and sacrifice.

Two things were seen to be necessary—capital and labour. The organization and supply of the first do not concern me at the present moment. It comes from the contributions—self-imposed taxes on income—of millions of people, humble working people, whose hearts have not been made hard and selfish, whose minds have not been vulgarized or made cynical, whose exile has not denationalized them. It has been brought together into various banks associated with Zionism, the most interesting to me being the recently started Palestine Workmen's Bank. The great object secured by this system of finance is that labour is being helped without being made subordinate, so that when the settlements become prosperous the workers will not find themselves to be mere payers of tribute to the owners of the capital which they had to borrow for development. To the financial interests represented in Parliaments that is a sin.

I have seen the bundles of papers recording both the amount and the quality of the immigration, and I have seen and talked to the immigrants at work "from Dan to Beersheba." Up to the end of 1922 some 25,000 had come under Zionist control, and about 4,000 independently. Latterly there was a slackening in the

flow owing to political difficulties with the Arabs. That made the Government decide to go cautiously for a time. This, however, is not to be altogether deplored, as the process of settlement and assimilation will be done all the better if there are slack intervals in the Return. The immigrants came largely from Central and Eastern Europe, and they seemed sturdy men and women accustomed to hard toil, and the great majority had some experience in agricultural work. The papers showed that they had all been selected and tested, and that those who had been intellectual workers and artisans were of a kind who would speedily accommodate themselves to Palestinian requirements, and for whose labour there was some demand or opening.

As a rule, they are first of all drafted on to public work undertaken on contract by the Jewish Co-operative Labourers' Association, and then they are passed on to the land. Some of the agricultural communities take no new members until their industry has been tested by work for the Labour Corps. Wherever the sojourner in Palestine goes to-day, he comes across new roads. Tents are pitched by the side of them, fires smoke, women are busy with the domestic affairs of the encampment. Long piles of boulders lie at the side, and upon them straddle men and women breaking them up; others are busy laying foundations, spreading the broken stones on the top, driving heavy rollers over them, working mule teams, filling and emptying carts. A busy and a pleasant scene in the midst of bare hill-sides, cultivated plains, borders glorious with anemones, aconites, and myriads of other flowers.

What strikes one who never passes these groups without speech is the fine quality of the material. I was often told that they were amateur road-makers. Perhaps—I do not know. Their roads were quite comfortable to travel upon, and if Palestine has to pay a little for the apprenticeship of its citizens, its return later on seems pretty sure. They were certainly working hard and living in hard conditions. They were

young, buoyant, confident. Many of them had keen intellectual interests, and a State rich in such citizens is to be envied. They took their hard work, their blisters, their rough fare in good part. They were proving to themselves that manual labour and culture are really good companions when one gets away from artificial ways of life, and they were educating and inspiring their fellows. When I dropped into these communities after the working day was over, I found that they were interested in things of good report and talked of matters worth talking about. The despair that so often comes into one's heart after spending an hour or two with such groups in places nearer what is called "centres of civilization" did not dwell in these camps and settlements. The trivial and the artificial and the inane were not apparent there. That was the result of selection, and the proof that there was idealism as well as necessity in the Return.

Off the roads one can see in places larger groups of tents than those of the road makers, or villages with a newness, a brightness, a substantiality that mark them off at a glance from the old Arab villages. These are the Jewish land settlements. They seem rather Western, and might have been transplanted from some European corner. Round them trees are growing, and they strike a note of clean, vigorous, youthful life. They are the foundation-stones of the new land of Israel. Upon them will have to rest all the artisan industry, all the professional activities, of the new Palestine.

The acquisition of land has presented many difficulties, and has been the occasion for perhaps the most damaging fables that have been used by unscrupulous agitators for stirring up strife between Arabs and Jews, and for producing a general state of unsettlement in Palestine. Touch the Arab's land, and you rouse maddening fears and suspicions in him. It has therefore been said that these settlements have been made upon land gifted by a Jewish Government or taken

from the Arabs. There is not a word of truth in the allegations. The land has been bought in the ordinary way, and, though Jewish holdings have rapidly increased within the last two years, the land has been made available by no pressure except the economic changes that have followed on the war. At the beginning of 1920, the Jewish National Fund held only about 5,000 acres. Then obstacles to purchase were removed, and, in 1921, 18,000 acres were held, the total value of which was £454,000. This included a fine, both from the point of view of fertility and history, area of 10,000 acres bought for £225,000 in the Valley of Jezreel, part of the Plain of Esdraelon (Armageddon), including the slopes of Gilboa. Recent purchases include urban land upon which 12,000 houses can be built. Putting all land together which comes under the control of the Zionist Organization, it amounts only as yet to 28,000 acres. When one is reminded that the cultivable area of Palestine is 12,000 square miles, of which but 4,000 are in use, one can see how insignificant are the Zionist holdings, what room there is for their extension without the disturbance of a single Arab, and how nonsensical is the attack made from certain quarters on the land policy of the Palestinian Government.

In my wanderings I dropped into several of these Jewish land settlements, both the old ones started by the Baron Rothschild Fund and the new ones which belong to the Zionist Movement. The former are mainly settlements of individual Jewish families and arose as the result of the Jewish persecutions in Russia nearly half a century ago. This fund has done a large amount of good to Palestinian agriculture, and the villages established by it show a great contrast in cleanliness, comfort, and pleasant appearances to others in their neighbourhood.

The recent settlements are more communal in character. They are still battling with unruly and dominant nature, with waste places, swamps, bare

hill-sides. Their fruits and harvests are still remote. In many of them wages are not paid, but the labourers live in a primitive simplicity, drawing for their needs from a common store, eating in a common kitchen, enjoying common recreation, creating a common-wealth, enriching not themselves individually, but the settlement. This is not likely to last, but it is a great advantage to Palestine that it can, in its present condition, draw upon such services. They render possible reclamation work that would have to be postponed otherwise, and are making beginnings that would have to wait if labour had to be paid a full reward from borrowed capital. The time will come when immigrants will have to be employed as wage labourers (even if on a co-operative system) upon land already fruitful, but at this stage the most economical way to employ labour is undoubtedly through small communal settlements of men and women so interested in their work that they are willing to live on terms of economic equality.

The communal community is not, however, an accident or a necessity imposed by Palestinian conditions on the flood of immigrants. The leaders of the movement definitely adopt it as a good model and ideal. They have been taught in Europe the oppression of the cultivator under a system of great estates and of debt. They feel that the soil of a land they reverence must somehow or other be held in affectionate relationship to the people, and that it must not be alienated, and they return to Mosaic precepts. Just as some of our own workmen enslaved by the factory system would fain go back to the mediæval guild, so the returned Jew feels a spiritual obligation to choose between the land economics of the materialist West and the Mosaic law, and he follows the latter. As to whether this can become permanent or not I shall venture no prophecy. I heard that difficulties had already shown themselves, but it is an experiment which should be watched sympathetically, for, if it

were to succeed, it might throw much light upon our own vexations and unhappiness.

There is always something strikingly beautiful about labour in fields. The reaper with his scythe, the ploughman in his furrow, the man going forth across the fields scattering seed as he goes, the woman with a hoe on her shoulder, are pictures. The atmosphere, the forms, the motion are the essence of the beautiful. When this is seen on land beautified by tradition, a strange happy comfort comes into the heart of the beholder.

My memory is stored with many such scenes. There is Daganian, for instance, where the Jordan comes from the Lake of Galilee. Here the plain between the hills of Moab and of Galilee is fairly broad, and the scene is one of the most pleasant that eye can behold. I stood by the Jordan, in the afternoon when I went to Daganian, as though I were in an enchanted land. The light was wonderfully pure, and imparted a tender softness to the scene. To the north the lake lay as placid as though it were glass; to the east the hills rose green, cut and scarred by torrent-made furrows, and bluish-purple heights looked over the heads of the nearer ones; to the south ran the long valley which descends to the Dead Sea, and it was closed in by the most exquisitely coloured haze of mingled blue, and purple, and grey; from the west came the darkening shadows of the hills towering close behind. A sturdy tiller of the soil met us—in Scotland we should call him a “canny” man, judging by his appearance—and, conducting us through groves of orange trees, brought us to the group of buildings which were the centre of the settlement. From the doorsteps we could see the people working on the land; the open doors of barns and other buildings showed some of the possessions of the community. There were thirty-five men and women there, and a young generation careered about in the yard and smiled at us from the cots of the common nursery. Times were difficult owing to the

fall in the prices of products and the continued increase in costs, together with the competition of cheap Arab production. But they were facing the future in confidence, and were indulging in dreams. We talked of the children, of education, of citizenship, and left the struggle of the times far behind in our excursion into "what the world will be when we have passed away." On the bookshelves I noticed Gibbins's "Foundations of Sociology," Rousseau, "King Lear," some of Zangwill's books, "National Jewish Heroes," Jewish History volumes. Later on I found myself night-bound on a road that forbade further progress, and I spent the night in such a community as this. Never would I wish a more hospitable welcome, never better cheer, never more interesting companions for an evening's gossip, never a sleep sounder or more comfortable than what I had under their roof, and never a happier feeling at the beginning of a day than came upon me as I saw the smoke of the awakening community rise up in the morning, heard the voices of the stirring folk and the clatterings of kitchen things, saw the groups of men and women go out into the fields.

At Nuris I met the newer-comers, the *Haluzim*. Their tents stood on the lower slopes of Mount Gilboa, and looked like an army encampment. But as I approached it was no military scene that presented itself. Down in the swamps to the left, up on the hill-sides to the right, out and in amongst the tents and sheds in front, men and women moved and worked. This was the newest of settlements. Everything was temporary, much was in disorder, the broken earth still seemed raw, and the mud and ruts looked forbidding. But here the fresh energy of the emigrant braced one like a refreshing wind; there were intellectuals about, men and women trained in colleges and equipped for professional careers. They had come to Palestine truly seeking a new world and a new life, and had found it so far in stiff manual labour, in draining swamps and planting hill-sides. In the refectory,

with the stage and the drop scene at one end, we sat and, over eggs and coffee and a stout bread ration, discussed the happenings of the world, the spirit of our time, and the ideas from which my hosts were fashioning this new land of Israel.

The emigrants of a generation ago went to find a haven of refuge. They built a home, cultivated their fields, brought up their families, and thought of death and the judgment. Another spirit is in the new immigrant. He has a conception of Palestine; the deep wells of tradition in his soul flow again with a refreshing abundance. So he does not only till and drain and plant; he thinks, he dreams, he strives to attain. He goes back for a starting-point to his own culture. He begins by becoming himself, and as the speech of a man is in a subtle way an expression of his group mind, he is cultivating Hebrew as the medium through which the new spirit is to express itself. That seems to make the organic connection between himself and his historical people. By-and-by he will have established Hebrew as the common language of his kindred in Palestine. If in this respect he is like a man who stretches his hand behind him to get a grip of something by which to hold on as he advances, his face is turned to the future. Carlyle has praised in tones that thrill our hearts him who subdues both earth and heaven, and I thought I met such men that afternoon at Nuris hard by Gideon's spring, and later on Mount Carmel, with dim lamps lighting up their faces, near by where Samuel testified to the power of Jehovah. There I found the worker who is also a teacher, who in the evening instructs and edifies, who is spoken of in the Arab communities in his neighbourhood until the shy Arab steals over to the classes and becomes a pupil too. They told me at Tel-Aviv, when they were giving me a general idea of the Zionist work, that they knew of thirty-five regular workman teachers and 1,500 workman pupils, that they had a travelling library of 15,000 books. The schools for which Zionist education committees

are responsible have nearly 13,000 pupils and 505 teachers, and from Zionist funds in 1921 the very handsome sum of £110,000 was spent on education. Parenthetically, I may record that the education budget of the Palestine Government does not bear out the baseless accusation that it cares little for the old Arab population and spends lavishly on the Jews, for, whereas the education of the latter is assisted by grants amounting to £3,000, that of the former is helped to the extent of £103,000. The University with which it is intended to crown the Mount of Olives is to be, like our own Scottish Universities, a treasure of the people, and the way to it will be open from the humblest families. As the way to a University is a way of light, its culture will shine throughout every village in the land.

Palestine is full of problems, but only one leaves some misgivings in my mind. Will the communities which I visited last in their present form? What though they do not? They are making the land fruitful, and their gains will never be lost. Will the country continue to draw upon the devotion and sacrifice of the young men and women with whom I spent many heartening hours? What though it cannot? The spirit of the pioneers can never be lost. The gleam of the days of the early Return will remain in the history of these times. These problems interest but do not worry. But there is another of which that cannot be said. What is to be the future relationship between Arabs and Jews?

If left to themselves I should have no fears, but they will not be left to themselves. There is room and to spare in the neglected lands of Palestine for as many Jews as are likely to go there if some care is shown in the selection of the immigrants. That is not the difficulty. The Jew comes with an alert mind, with modern ideas, with a buoyancy that disturbs and frightens the Arab of conservative habits and volcanic enmities. It is like an east wind blowing over nooks

long protected in sunny placidity. Conservative habits maintain conservative interests that shrivel up so soon as fresh minds examine them, that can maintain themselves only by excluding every incursion foreign to themselves. They are upheld by an obedience which, if ever it thinks at all, thinks in terms of habit. So, to the Arab leaders, the Jewish immigration is the coming of a doom, and they stir up their followers to resist it. Hence there are riots and rumours of riots, and our harassed representatives feel that they are upon the lip of a crater. The political policy of some European countries also adds to our difficulties, and wary must all concerned be lest there be a gathering and an overflowing of passion as of a flood.

There is much hope even here, however. The Arab workman and cultivator must be regarded by the Jew as a man to be helped, protected, and enlightened. The task is very far from being impossible. I saw it begun in schools, in Trade Unions, in Labour Corps. I had interviews with protesting Moslem-Christians, but I had interviews also with Arabs who welcomed the new settlement. The more enlightened the Arab becomes, the more he understands his own interests, the less will he respond to appeals which waken old evil memories within him.

One goes through Palestine now with the verses of many a prophecy on one's lips. One hears them as though the hills whispered them. The camps on the sea-shore, by the waysides, on the hills, seem to have come by the command of the Ancient of Days, seem to have been arranged long, long ago when it was promised that He "will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." Time has brought forth event, and the land of Israel again receives her children. She is worn out, she is neglected, she is in bondage to a stranger, but she still retains the treasures of her motherhood, and her children can find peace and happiness in her service.

IMPRESSIONS OF TWO SHORT VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921 AND 1922

BY MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, LL.D.

ALL my life I have had a very strong desire to visit Palestine, tempered in part by repugnance to seeing what most Christians think of as the Holy Land under the control of the Turk. This repugnance arose not merely from the fact of the Christian Holy Places being in Moslem hands—there are Moslems and Moslems—but from the further fact, testified to by such travellers as Burton, Kinglake, Curzon, and Laurence Oliphant, that the Turkish Government in Palestine was inept, stupid, oppressive, and corrupt, almost to the verge of insanity.

The great news of the triumphant entry of Allenby and the British troops into Jerusalem, which reached us in November, 1917, was hailed throughout the whole of the British Dominions with great joy and thankfulness over and above what would have been caused by a merely military success, although that too was most welcome, but because it meant that Palestine was henceforth to be free; and then the possibility for the first time in thousands of years dawned upon men's minds of uniting the many races inhabiting the Holy Land, and thus gradually building up a Palestinian nation. The joy with which the news was received was only made more deep and intense when the Coalition Government announced its desire to set up in the newly freed Palestine a national home for the Jews, "it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities" in that country. This,

which is usually called the Balfour Declaration, was hailed with sincere joy and satisfaction by the many; and by the few as "a great piece of imaginative statesmanship." Then came the enemy sowing tares and doing as much damage as he could; at the present moment we are watching to see whether the tares will overcome the wheat, or the wheat the tares. I for one am full of hope, because I believe we may count on the wheat proving to be the stronger plant.

But to go back to my own narrative. I had heard, of course, of the Jewish colonies in Palestine, but knew little in detail about them, when, in 1919, a friend of mine, a daughter of the late Sir Percy Bunting, paid a visit to Palestine, and on her return gave me some pamphlets by Mr. S. Tolkowsky, an agricultural engineer of Jaffa (also, as I hear, a contributor to this volume), setting forth how these colonies had gradually, but under enormous difficulties, raised the whole level of agriculture in certain districts by introducing methods long in use in the advanced agricultural districts of Europe and America. These efforts had resulted in doubling the yield of crops and of milch cows in some places. The pioneers had, moreover, made and improved the roads and other means of transport; they had set up friendly relations with Arab landowners, so that these repeatedly used Jewish agricultural workmen for the creation of new orange orchards and for the more delicate operation of grafting fruit trees. They had raised among their own people what may be called a police force, though this term usually implies Government organization and control; but these not being forthcoming, a number of Jewish workmen formed the "Hashomer," an organization of watchmen for protecting the plantations and vineyards. These things did not end their good works; they undertook the drainage and sanitary rehabilitation of fever-infested districts. Eucalyptus trees were planted by the thousand, and the struggle against malaria gradually became successful.

While this great work of material rehabilitation was going on, these courageous pioneers were also building up a system of education for their children—of course, entirely at their own expense; schools were the first buildings erected in the colonies, taking precedence even of the synagogues. The Hebrew Higher-Grade School at Tel-Aviv, now with its 700 pupils, has a world-wide reputation; and so well has the educational work been done that the leaving-certificate of this school is sufficient to give its owners the right of entrance into the universities of Europe and America. When I read all this, and much more to a similar effect, in Mr. Tolkowsky's pamphlets, my desire to visit Palestine was greatly strengthened; nor was it lessened when I also learnt that it was in the main through the Jewish colonies and their schools that a successful fight had been put up against making the German language the medium of instruction in the schools of Palestine. There was the German Hilfsverein on one side fighting for the German language, and backed by Germany's power of forcing her own point of view against all comers; on the other side were the founders and members of the Jewish colonies fighting against German, and for Hebrew, and backed by their own unconquerable determination; in the end the Jewish colonies carried the day. This, of course, was some time before the war.

Walt Whitman's "Song of the Pioneer" is fully applicable to those men who did the wonderful work of creating the colonies:

Not for delectations sweet,
Not the cushion and the slipper, not the peaceful and the
studious,
Not the riches safe and palling, not for us the tame enjoyment,
Pioneers ! O pioneers !

Do the feasters gluttonous feast ?
Do the corpulent sleepers sleep ? Have they locked and bolted
doors ?
Still be ours the diet bare, and the blanket on the ground,
Pioneers ! O pioneers !

The more I read of these things, the stronger was my desire to see the people who had done them, and just at this time I had a present of several hundred pounds given me very generously by a group of Suffrage friends, with instructions that I might do anything I liked with the money except give it away. I had not much doubt as to the use to which I should apply it. "Go to Palestine, of course," was my instinctive answer to the question "How are you going to use it?" So to Palestine I went in the spring of 1921, accompanied, to my great joy and satisfaction, by my sister. Of course, at first we saw the things every Christian who visits Palestine most wishes to see—Jerusalem itself and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, and the Mosque, gloriously beautiful and majestic, which now covers the site of Solomon's Temple. Then we went to Nazareth, most fascinating and daintily beautiful of Syrian villages, and best of all in this connection the Sea of Tiberias, so intimately bound up with the life-work of Jesus, where He found His disciples among the fishermen, gave the multitude His Sermon on the Mount and His parables, and "spake as never man spake."

Tiberias itself is not attractive, and, beyond a clean and comfortable little hotel, presented no temptation for a lengthened visit; but we had noticed as we approached it the neat and well-arranged farm-buildings of a small Jewish colony, and I therefore proposed that we should visit it, but so many not unreasonable difficulties were put in the way by our dragoman that we had to abandon our purpose. I thought we should have many other opportunities of seeing the colonies, and that there was no particular reason why we should insist on visiting this particular one of which we did not even know the name.

We therefore went on to Haifa, where the weather turned very stormy, so that when I proposed to our

kind hostess, who asked us what we should like to do and see, that we should pay a visit to the nearest Jewish colony, there were really excellent reasons, in the downpour of rain, for not doing so. Instead of this, she arranged that I should see some of the leading Moslem and Christian opponents of "the national home for the Jews." This also was most interesting and welcome, and thus began more than one long and argumentative conversation, during which I learnt something—not much, perhaps, but something—of the Oriental mind. Perhaps I ought not to say "Oriental" mind, but substitute for it "the mind of a people who for more than 400 years had been ground down by ignorant and tyrannous government." They told me of their deep-rooted aversion to the Balfour Declaration, and spoke of the pledges given by England during the war having been broken, and even said, thinking to please us, that, "having lost faith in the justice of British men, they were now appealing to the women." It was difficult to make them understand that we took it as no compliment to ourselves to hear our men insulted. I pressed them to mention to me specific instances in which individuals known to themselves had been injured by giving to the Jews a right to establish a national home in Palestine. I did not receive any satisfactory answers. For instance, they told me that the Jews had unfairly used their influence with the Government to obtain more than their just share of the public money set aside for education. I was deeply suspicious of the accuracy of this statement when I heard it, for I knew Sir Herbert Samuel's reputation as a just and honourable man, and also the practical devotion of the Jews all over the world to helping the poorer members of their own race. However, on returning to Jerusalem I made special enquiries on the subject, and learned from the Minister of Education, a Christian Englishman, that the Palestine Jews up to that date (March, 1921) had maintained all their schools entirely out of their own resources, and had

not taken a penny of Government money. After this little bit of experience I was not inclined to accept any of the other statements made to me in Haifa without careful enquiry. I was, however, always trying not to be too hard on these people. Fabulous statements had been for centuries their easiest way of shifting off their shoulders the burden of the iniquities of Turkish rule; moreover, having been the subjects of a despotism for 400 years, they were without political experience.

My efforts to see specimens of the Jewish colonies during my visit of 1921 were ultimately successful. Some Jewish friends kindly motored me from Jerusalem to see Rehoboth and Rishon-le-Zion; the first, surrounded by splendidly cultivated orchards of lemons, oranges, and almonds, I found to be an attractive village with a neat, clean little inn, where a very happy week-end might be spent by tired workers from Jerusalem. It was an oasis in a desert of Saul. Rishon-le-Zion is the great wine-producing colony, and Baron Edmond de Rothschild had backed it with a generous supply of capital to float it over its earlier unproductive years. I learned that vines do not come into productive bearing until they are four years old, while the time required for orange trees is often as long as eight years. Therefore, both vineyards and orange orchards must be taken in hand by those who can afford to wait a good many years before any return is received. I was particularly pleased at both these colonies to hear that since the British occupation they had adopted a really democratic form of local self-government; all the residents, whether men or women, on attaining the age of twenty-one, possess and exercise the local franchise for the election of what we should call a Town Council. Women vote and are eligible on the same terms as men, and at the time of my visit the Council of Rishon consisted of four women and three men. I told one of my very anti-Jewish friends of my visit to these colonies. She

asked their names; of course, I told her. "Ah!" she rejoined, "very carefully chosen." I have no reason to believe that this comment was justified or that there was any other desire on the part of my Jewish hosts to do anything beyond giving me a fair idea of the actual condition of colonies which had been in existence sufficiently long to test what might be called their staying-power. However, on a second visit in 1922 I was at once asked by a different set of Jewish friends if I should wish to visit other of their colonies. I replied in the affirmative, and they never even mentioned Rehoboth and Rishon, but took me to see Mikveh Israel—a really splendid agricultural college where 175 young men were going through a three-years course in practical agriculture—Petach-Tikvah, and the immigration camp at Tel-Aviv. Mikveh Israel had been founded about thirty-five years ago by a French Jew, M. Netter. He endowed it liberally, and it maintains fifteen professors and can take nearly 200 students. It is impossible to exaggerate the good which this institution has done, not to the Jews only, but to the whole agricultural life of the neighbourhood, and probably to the whole of Palestine. The Arabs have benefited from example as well as from precept; they see with their own eyes better crops produced under better methods than ever were employed in earlier times. The head of this college, a French Jew, well versed in the skilled viticulture and orange-growing of the South of France, took us round; when the pupils leave they act as missionaries of improved methods of cultivation in various parts of Palestine and in other countries. Then we went on to another colony, Petach-Tikvah—the Door of Hope. This had been founded about 1878, aided by the sympathy and support of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. Laurence Oliphant, and by some of the Jews of Jerusalem. This colony had been born of the agonies suffered by the Jews through relentless persecution in Russia and Rumania. It had surmounted

great initial difficulties, and for over forty years had lived on peaceable and friendly terms with its Arab neighbours. It was, however, fiercely attacked during the May riots of 1921. The Haycraft Commission made careful enquiries into the origin of this attack, with the result that the sheikh of a neighbouring village was sentenced to fifteen (afterwards reduced to ten) years' penal servitude. It was on account of these wanton and unprovoked attacks on peaceful neighbours that the Government of Palestine distributed arms to some of the Jewish colonies. These arms are under the surveillance of the Government, and are in sealed cases, to be used only in the case of attack.

One often sees in the anti-Jewish press statements reflecting on the injustice of the Palestine Government in allowing arms to the Jews when they are not allowed to the Arabs. Sir Wyndham Deedes, Civil Secretary to the Government, dealt with these accusations in a speech delivered in April, 1922, at Safed. He referred to the events of May, 1921. He had himself passed through the devastated area—Petach-Tikvah, Hederah, Kafr Saba, and Ain Hai. The two latter places were completely wiped out—not a stone remained; everything was destroyed. "Do you know," asked Sir Wyndham of his Moslem, Jewish, and Christian audience, "who destroyed them? The neighbours who had lived with the Jews for thirty or forty years in peace and friendship, and derived their livelihood from them. These neighbours attacked, killed, plundered, and pillaged. Could the Government withhold giving its citizens the possibility of defending themselves, their wives, and their children?" He then went on to describe the sureties the Government had taken that the arms should be used for no purpose whatever but self-defence from hostile attack.

It was not a little moving to see the very people at Petach-Tikvah who had gone through this ordeal, not unscathed indeed, but with courage and fortitude;

they had already once more entered into friendly economic relationship with their Arab neighbours. I felt as I saw this that these Jews were better Christians than I probably should have been under similar provocation. It was an Arab gardener who, at the end of our visit, presented us with bunches of the flowers and specimens of the fruit that were growing in profusion in the gardens. Petach-Tikvah has a very large and up-to-date packing shed, where the oranges are graded, washed, and packed by machinery of the most approved and recent pattern. One has to see these things to appreciate their significance in a country where the majority of the population pride themselves on not having altered any of their methods or tools since before the time of Abraham.

Our next visit was to the immigration camp established at Tel-Aviv on the sea coast adjacent to Jaffa, but independent of it. Here all was order and method, carefully thought out with a view to health, cleanliness, and general contentment of the new immigrants. These arrive generally bringing with them all their worldly possessions, often pathetically small, but in some cases of considerable bulk. There is one rule for all; as the men are lodged in bell tents, generally three, but sometimes four to a tent, they are allowed to bring with them there only absolute necessities. Everything else is neatly packed away in large shelters resembling in their order and arrangement a well-managed British railway cloakroom. The tents were grouped in

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twelves this way: * * and one man is made re-

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sponsible for the order and discipline of each group. The superintendent, a good-natured-looking man who, though he was a German Jew, bore the name of Gordon, was evidently the right man in the right place. He was kindly but thorough, and assured us he had no difficulty whatever in maintaining order. We were

told that his previous experience of life had been as assistant to a German theatrical entrepreneur of European fame. Our guide, Mr. Jacobs, a pleasant, kindly young man from Manchester, who had served in the British Army from the outbreak of the war to its end, told us that the organizers of the immigration camp had learned a great deal from the order and discipline of the British military camps. Perhaps he and Mr. Gordon put their two experiences together; for running a touring theatrical company must require a good deal of patience and tact as well as observation of human nature. Every man on arrival at Tel-Aviv is served with bedstead, mattress, sheets, and blankets, all provided by the administration. We saw a very fine pile of fresh new sheets which had lately arrived, a gift from Jewish women in the United States. There was a large tent used as a reading-room, and well supplied with books and papers in various languages. Very few of the immigrants remain in the camp more than a few days, as they are quickly passed on to places where employment is waiting for them. Of course, this must make management a far easier task than in those camps where the inhabitants have to spend weeks or months. The health in the Tel-Aviv camp was, we were told, extremely good.

We unfortunately could not see the exceptionally fine High School at Tel-Aviv, because the date of our visit was just on the eve of Passover, and both pupils and staff were dispersed to their several homes. The resemblance between our Christmas domestic gatherings and those which are observed by Jews at Passover was very striking; but the Jews precede their family gathering by the most tremendously thorough house-cleaning which we had ever witnessed. Our spring-cleaning is but a faint shadow of the much more rabid orgy of cleanliness that prevails in Jewish households preparing for Passover. It is really a terrible affair; and I was much interested in watching its extreme thoroughness. But I wondered sometimes if it had

anything to do with Arab hostility to Judaism. The people who are aggressively clean are not popular among those whose aggression takes a different form.

I have dwelt in these remarks on aspects of Jewish life in Palestine with which most of my readers are probably familiar, but my object in part is to bring before them the clash between the two civilizations of the Jews and of the Arabs. The former for many years, under Turkish rule, it must be remembered, were forbidden to reside in Palestine at all, and therefore obtained extended experience of life in various parts of Europe and in the United States; while the native Palestinian Arabs represent men whose families have lived in Palestine for uncounted ages, and have developed an extraordinarily rigid conservatism, believing that everything should be done exactly as it was in the time of Abraham, untravelled, unlearned, and not merely unlearned, but believing there was nothing to learn. In bringing these two sets of people together is it not perfectly certain that there will be a clash of different points of view and of different objects to be aimed at? The wonder is not that there have been quarrels between them, but that in so many cases they have succeeded in getting on well together. In the view of some political intriguers and wire-pullers it was not at all to be desired that the task of the British administration in Palestine should be easy and obviously successful. There was plenty of inflammable material about, and the wire-pullers had no great difficulty in setting a match to it. The Arab has always been extremely suspicious that there can be but one object in introducing new-comers into his country. "They are come to take our country away from us," is his first thought. The Arabs have believed this of every archaeological expedition; no man, they thought, was ever sufficiently imbecile to spend his time lying on his stomach in a damp ditch digging for useless ruins or odds and ends of pieces of marble. His real object must surely be either to find treasure or "to take our

country away from us." Real harm was done by allowing a scientific group of archaeologists to begin excavations near the mosque of El Aksa in the Temple area. The Moslems we conversed with at Haifa were convinced that this was only the beginning of a deep-laid scheme to give the Jews control of the mosque, and enable them to build anew in the area another Solomon's Temple. There is believed to be a subterranean passage between El Aksa and the wailing-place of the Jews. Our Moslem friends were certain that the Jews were aiming at seizing this passage and establishing themselves in the mosque. El Aksa is an intensely Holy Place to pious Moslems; they believe that Mohammed had been miraculously transported thither, and its Kubleh niche is of special sanctity to them. It is worse than useless to attempt to eradicate these beliefs.

The Jews and Arabs are separated by religion, education, outlook on life, and by the different position they accord to women, but it is impossible to believe that they are separated by race. I have heard a Jewish lady, an ardent Zionist, say that the Arab children one sees in Palestine are so similar in type to her own children that they might be her own. Disraeli, a very keen observer in matters of race, dwells in "Tancred" (a good guide-book, by the way, to Palestine as it was eighty years ago) on the racial identity of Jew and Arab. There is no reason, so far as race is concerned, why they should not be friends. Many enemies of the national home for the Jews make it their object to create and stimulate hatred between them. They therefore do all in their power to encourage this prepossession of the Arab that the Jews intend to take away his country from him. They do this in all kinds of ways, but one of the favourite methods is to represent it as an obvious fact, patent to everyone with eyes in his head. The only way of dealing effectively with this misrepresentation is for the Jews to show it up by every action of their lives for the falsehood

which it is. And to do the Jews justice, this is the line they are taking. If the Jews wanted to destroy the Arabs and turn them out of the homes which they and their families have lived in for thousands of years, why are they exerting themselves, spending time and substance in founding and maintaining infant-welfare centres in Jerusalem and other towns, so as to spread the knowledge of infant hygiene and sanitation throughout the Arab population generally? The *goutte de lait* system which we learnt from the French is now being promoted by Jewish women in Palestine along with other measures of infant welfare calculated to preserve infant life among the native Arab population. On my first visit to Jerusalem eighteen months ago I heard an address given by Miss Szold, an American Jewess, on this subject, in which she described the efforts of the Hadassah (or Esther) Association to spread a knowledge of infant hygiene all over the country. It seems to me rather a pleasing way of promoting good feeling to begin with the mothers and babies. It may prove possible thus to create bonds of friendship which cannot easily be broken.

There are some extreme Zionists who have damaged their cause by using expressions which have been interpreted to signify the eviction of the mass of the Arab population from the land in which they and their ancestors have lived for more than 3,000 years. Every political movement has its wild cats, but these are never representative of the sober common sense of the general mass. Sober common sense, as represented by Dr. Weizmann in 1919, and reiterated by the Zionist Congress at Carlsbad in 1922, gives positive assurances on this point. Dr. Weizmann said: "The Arabs are not strangers; they have lived in the country for centuries. . . . We say: 'There is room both for you and for us; you will benefit by our coming in, and we shall benefit by friendly relations between you and us. . . .'" We cannot go into the country like Junkers; we cannot afford to drive out other people. We, who

have been driven out ourselves, cannot drive out others. We shall be the last people to drive off the fellah from his land; we shall establish normal relations between us and them. . . . That is our attitude towards the Arabs. Any other attitude is criminal, childish, impolitic, stupid" (see speech by Dr. Weizmann, September 21, 1919, pp. 14, 15). This eminently reasonable pronouncement of policy was corroborated and accepted at the recent Zionist Congress at Carlsbad, when those present reaffirmed "their determination to live with the Arabs on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development."

PALESTINE IN RENEWAL*

By PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES

THE most fundamental of all reconstructive tasks is agriculture; and its main object, in literal Biblical phrase, and in concrete fulfilment of its prophecy, is to "build again the old waste places." And though the Zionists are in this way the most active and ambitious, and the Moslem and Christian Press is in consequence voicing a dread of submergence, there is nothing to prevent much further development of all good agricultural and constructive endeavours—as, *e.g.*, by credit organizations. This, in fact, is being seen by many, and as a wiser and more practical policy than that of outcries of "dispossession." Such outcries are, indeed, baseless; for, even if Jews were to become destitute of that long foresight and political intelligence with which in other moods they are only too generously, sometimes almost superhumanly, credited, the British Mandate and administration are there, pledged to guard all existing interests. And, as a matter of fact, after looking at many Jewish land purchases in north, south, east, and west, one forms the clear resultant impression that the Jews are paying very good prices for what they buy. Moreover, the bulk of such land, if not all, requires further large capital expenditure, so it will need not only skill and labour, but long patience too, before the mass of these investments can be brought up to a remunerative return. This has been true even

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of the older Jewish colonies which have been growing up for half a century along with those of German and American Christians, quite before the present Zionist movement, which is essentially of very recent years. Its world-wide publicity, however necessary for its objects in other countries, is in Palestine costing its promoters dear. For it is in the very A B C of economic experience that, in a bargain between an eager buyer and a leisurely and conservative possessor, it is in the latter's favour that the scale tends to incline. This is inevitable where sentiment comes into the scales, as in any country, say, for the archæologist seeking to acquire some venerable ruin to him inestimably precious; for the religious body longing to restore a venerated shrine; or, again, for any person asking to re-acquire the home of his ancestors. But the Jewish buyer is each and all of these, and more; he has not merely the sum of all these sentiments, he is their multiplicand. He has, moreover, the disadvantage of a legend of wealth behind him, almost as when any travelling Englishman was "milord," or was at least assumed to be heir to a London banker or brewer; this, indeed, all the more because everyone in Palestine knows that one of the Rothschild barons has long been backing and extending with his millions the pre-Zionist group of colonies that have long been numerous, and are at length fairly prospering. But the Zionists themselves are less fortunate, since the great Jewish financiers and bankers are mostly somewhat shy of their ardour; they are, however, asked long prices none the less. And though sometimes an Arab seller may expand into unwonted luxury at Cairo or Jerusalem, there are also many cases in which, like proprietors of large but impoverished lands nearer home, he is able, by selling a portion, to disburden and develop the land he keeps. Under the influence of a recent and vigorous political and Press propaganda, not a few *effendis* declared they would never sell to Jews, but some have been prudently reconsidering this. And one

meets old-fashioned Arab land-holders and chieftains, more interested in the development of their lands and people than in politics, who are frankly desirous of promoting Jewish settlements in their midst, not simply, as they explain, from a desire for ready cash, but as a fresh example and impulse to their own small, scattered, and admittedly backward agriculture. For a Jewish colony often offers employment for Arab labour, and certainly a stimulus to the neighbouring villages.

The area of Palestine available for reclamation and improvement is vastly greater than its present too scanty population can overtake; thus it affords room for immigration, accompanied by increasing prosperity to the existing inhabitants, and that in more ways than from appreciating land-values. But these values, as above pointed out, are in various ways heightened; hence, with a view to allowing time for a more normal land-market to return, the Zionists seem turning increasingly towards more intensive development of such areas as they have acquired, and also towards the waste Government lands, which, under an excellent old Turkish law, are open, under reasonable conditions, to whoever is able and willing to reclaim or afforest them. Good work is thus beginning in these directions, as in pine plantations on Carmel and elsewhere; also notably in the planting of eucalyptus, not only in marshes, but also upon the vast sand dunes which have for ages been advancing upon the sea plain at many points, as, for example, south of Jaffa. Here, then, is work for many years to come as substantially useful, and presumably in time as profitable, as are the forests upon the Biscay coast or elsewhere in Europe; since it gives promise of the fuel and timber which are so much needed for the life and development of the whole country, but which are now unprecedentedly scarce and costly, to the detriment of all.

The drainage of malarious marshes—which are sometimes pestiferous enough, and where even blackwater

fever occurs—will often result in irrigation elsewhere; another excellent line of work, which again makes for the improved health and prosperity of the whole community. So also is the electrical development scheme designed for the Jordan Valley, with its great natural reservoir midway, the Lake of Galilee; all the more since the lake will not suffer, but will actually gain—as, *e.g.*, in fishery value—by the extra foot or two of raising which is all that is required. This undertaking, moreover, will not only give light and power to villages and towns over a wide area, but also irrigation to the lower Jordan Valley, which is at present so desolate for want of it.

Again, Palestine has been made easily accessible from Egypt by the new coast railway made by and for the Allenby campaign; this, besides its ordinary economic uses, brings the Holy Land far more fully within the reach of tourists and pilgrims of all faiths, who here, amid such wealth of associations sacred for each, naturally tend to approximate to a common type more than ordinarily in Europe. For health, too, as a winter resort, the Jordan Valley will be attractive, especially round Tiberias, with its oldest of medicinal baths still actively flowing—baths which the Romans fully appreciated (witness Herod's palace, on the remains of which the archæologists keep an interested eye), and which should reward the projected renewal. This increased tourist and pilgrim traffic is full of promise and profit for all populations, and in their greater number for Christians—and perhaps Moslems—even more than for Jews. Only those who in such matters deny to the Jews that economic shrewdness and political intelligence which at other times they blame them for possessing too fully can fail to see that—even were their hopes of a national home realizable to-morrow, instead of, at the earliest, in a generation or more—they would all the more desire the tourists and respect the pilgrims of the other two great religions. And not simply for business reasons; for Jews take

pride in thinking of these later faiths as daughters of their own, and hence often feel for them a more sympathetic interest than they themselves as a rule receive in return.

With all their legend of wealth, the resources of Zionism for such undertakings as the above, and others, are, in fact, but scanty—indeed, insufficient. The cause is alike the ruin of Eastern and Middle Europe, and the hard times through which all countries are passing; these together press heavily upon this attempt at regrouping, however Western non-Zionists may still have their proportion of financiers and profiteers. The capital sum at which Zionism is daring to aim—£25,000,000—is, after all, but the capital of a single big business or bank, and is small compared with that, say, of the English Co-operative Societies, or of Lord Leverhulme or Mr. Ford, let alone the greatest concerns like steel or oil trusts. And even this amount is not coming in as they hoped; there is thus little fear of any too rapid “dispossession” of present Palestinian owners.

After a good many contacts, and some endeavour to form estimates of Jewish personalities accordingly, one must confess failure to discover, either in old Palestinian Jewry or in young Zionism, even among their few bankers, their very treasurers, that quite super-Christian financial ability and astuteness which one was told, perhaps even somewhat disposed, to expect. The former of these groups are mostly in the towns, and consist mainly of the old and orthodox type, with a large studious and scholastic element, and, of course, the usual small traders—grocers, clothiers, etc. In the old colonies the genuine peasant life and conditions are still less fitted to produce or maintain the financier; nor do they as yet to any extent beget the money-lender. As to the Zionists, their leaders come essentially from the professional and scientific classes. They employ a fair number of competent young agronomes and fruit-growers with experience

from Russia, France, England, and America; also several excellent botanists, of whom at least two would be a gain to any Institute of Botany in the world. But their one agriculturist of conspicuous genius, and of deservedly world-wide reputation, Mr. Aaronsohn—who was not only the discoverer of the long-sought wild wheat, but one of the foremost of plant-breeders accordingly—was lost in an aeroplane crossing of the Channel just after the war. Civil engineers, surveyors, and so forth, are fairly numerous, including at least one eminent electrician, Mr. Rutenberg, the designer of the Jordan scheme above mentioned; but there is as yet only too little field for new merchants, since neither imports nor exports are at present sufficiently increasing. Still, with such practical men, substantial progress is in the making; and if other religious communities dread them, let more of their own patriotic and competent members be similarly up and doing.

As regards medicine, in which the distinguished Jewish tradition is maintained at the present day, the need in Palestine plainly outruns the supply—at any rate, outside Jerusalem. There are several Christian medical missions, with physicians, hospitals, and nurses, all of excellent repute, as in Tiberias and elsewhere, while British and Indian Army medical officers are also doing good service. Of Moslem medicine I have no knowledge; but among all endeavours one can least withhold praise from the work of the American Zionist Medical Corps, whose work has radiated widely and impartially throughout Palestine, actively attacking, for instance, in the villages and schools the eye diseases so lamentably prevalent among children, and with encouraging results. Their resultant scheme for the systematic *assainissement* of Palestine, for which they are now seeking funds in America, appears one of the most soundly and comprehensively planned as yet for any country; so that if it can be fully started and carried on, even for a very few years, it will not only deserve the gratitude of all sections of the population

and of the Government, but will rank among the very foremost of regional object-lessons towards the health amelioration of the world.

One is often asked as to the mass of Zionist colonists, and generally with some too definite assumption of uniformity of type; sometimes, though seldom, as to their age and piety, sometimes as to their politics, very often as to their coming entirely for money-lending or small commerce, and oftener still in recent times as to their being, presumably, all Bolsheviks! Let us visit the large squads of recent immigrants who are actually at work in the starting of new colonies or the making of roads. These are, naturally, the two chief lines of apprenticeship to this new career in Palestine, and those most directly leading towards the future oftenest hoped for, that of a homestead of one's own. The above-named standard types of the stage Jew for his various critics are singularly scarce—in fact, not easily discoverable, if at all. For such a working group consists essentially of young men, with a fair or rather small sprinkling of young women. These, of course, mainly take up the domestic work, and cookery, clothes-mending, etc., for the incipient colony: one finds, however, a proportion of eager and sturdy lasses who prefer field-work, and go at it with surprising energy, not always on its less severe side nor for a short day. Road-making is much the same in most stony countries, and heavy work in all; but land-reclamation is far more strenuous than any labour on our familiar soils. For these steep hill-sides, largely bared of their surface soil for one knows not how many generations or ages, present an aspect of tough, woody, and thorny shrubs, large and small, densely tufted and deep-rooted among rocks and stones of all sizes. Weeds and stones thus hold each other firm, and the task only begins with the tearing out of the matted tufts, and levering up of the large stones with pickaxe and crowbar. For the larger stones have to be moved into their place in the line of the future

terrace wall, and gradually built up into this—a task hard on the hands, as every dry-stane-dyker knows, and also needing some skill to slope the wall gently back against the earth pressure behind it, and, above all, to adjust the stones so as to be locked all the tighter by this, without which they are sooner or later pushed over. The earth, now becoming more evident, is brought down the slope until it is as deep as it need or may be behind the wall; so that now a very gently sloped surface, with soil deep in front and shallow up-hill behind, replaces the old irregular slope. Even before planting or sowing the transformation is a striking one, which can only be realized by a visit or a good photograph—a transformation from a rocky and stony, shrubby and weedy hill-side, rougher than even Connaught development has had to tackle, into the ordered terracing of Italy. Hard and heavy work is involved, skilled work too, only possible with good management, and general will to work and learn. Then comes the planting with vines or with olives; and then, alas! the waiting (though some workers are still busily employed) for four years for a fair yield of grapes, and fifteen or so for paying olives.

Now a word about these workers. After all one has heard of them as wastrels, dotards, usurers, Bolsheviks—for any and every word of abuse, however mutually incompatible, seems to satisfy such critics by turns—the naked eye finds them in the mass pretty much like a group of our own young soldiers back from the war. For in this a great number of them served, of course in many different armies; a surprisingly large proportion are men from universities, now closed to them, too commonly by hate, but also largely by the poverty, ruin, or massacre of their kindred. And in these young fellows turning from philosophy, law and letters, or medicine and science to agriculture, is there not also an element of “University Reform” fuller than its advocates, whether in Britain or India, have yet put forward?

But what of the Bolsheviks and Communists, of whom we have heard so much, and who alarmed Sir Herbert Samuel's Government? No doubt there are a sprinkling. I have heard from some of their opponents of two or three hundred in Palestine. If there be so many, it is few compared with too many British cities; but, in any case, the difference is that, while any great modern industrial city to-day is becoming more or less a nursery and training school of extreme economic theories, and even revolutionary spirit, any and every agricultural region—and especially such a reclamation area as this—is the nursery and school of a view of life and a philosophy of action of a totally different character, since it is no longer mechanical, but essentially vital and constructive. As a student and planner in great cities, and even at present in this quiet old Scotland, I feel a very real anxiety over their impatient Communists and ardent Bolsheviks; but when in the fields, whether watching Horace Plunkett's work in Ireland or that of the Zionists in Palestine, one breathes a totally different atmosphere, and with returning hope. For what steadier and better ground has any civilization to show in past, present, or future, than such return to mother earth in strenuous and loving labour?

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT DURING THE WAR

BY A. M. HYAMSON

WHEN war broke out in August, 1914, the headquarters of the Zionist Organization were in Berlin. The supreme control since the International Congress of the previous year had been vested in an executive committee of six, of whom Professor Warburg of Berlin was the Chairman, and Dr. Jechiel Tchlenow of Moscow the Vice-Chairman. The four other members were Dr. A. Hantke, Dr. V. Jacobson, Dr. Shmarya Levin, and Mr. N. Sokolow. The outbreak of war necessarily meant the suspension of Zionist political activity. More than that, it threatened the very existence of the Zionist Organization. Of the six members of the executive, four were in Berlin when war broke out, Dr. Tchlenow was in Russia, Dr. Levin in the United States. Mr. Sokolow left Germany shortly afterwards; most of the period of the war was spent by Dr. Jacobson in Denmark. The first step taken to secure the neutrality of the Organization was the removal of the central office to Copenhagen, where it was placed under the direction of Dr. Jacobson. At the same time the head offices of the Jewish National Fund were removed to Holland. Simultaneously Dr. Shmarya Levin, the only other member of the executive who happened to be in a neutral State, gathered round himself the prominent Zionists of the United States, and with their assistance formed a provisional Zionist executive which should, in case of need, act on behalf of the Organization. However, despite these preparations, the centre of the Zionist Movement was throughout the war neither in Copen-

hagen, nor in Amsterdam, nor in New York, but in London. For there and elsewhere, in close co-operation with the British Government, were taken the successive steps that culminated in the recognition by the Powers, great and small, of the historic claims of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The Zionist Movement in England had always been exceptionally weak. English Jews, like their fellow-citizens, have essentially practical characteristics, and so long as Zionism appeared to be merely an academic movement, it obtained little consideration at their hands. Thus, among the well-known Jews in England hardly a single one had shown any sympathy with the Zionist Movement, and that which was true of the prominent Jews of England was equally true of those who were known only in their own immediate circles. Only in the East End of London and in the foreign Jewish centres of the kingdom did Zionism draw any appreciable support. A noticeable change, however, came over Jewish public opinion with the declaration of war against Turkey in November, 1914. Not that this declaration converted Anglo-Jewry or any element of Anglo-Jewry to Zionism; but the reopening of the Eastern Question, with the concurrent throwing into the melting-pot of at least the outlying domains of the Ottoman Empire, at once brought the Zionist hopes and desires much closer to reality; and when at the Guildhall the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, announced that "the death-knell of Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia," had been sounded, it became obvious to all who thought on these matters that a change of political status in Palestine was within the range of practical politics, and that even the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine was a possible outcome of the political resettlement that would have to follow the war.

This idea was not peculiar to Jew or to Christian, to Zionist or to anti-Zionist, or to non-Zionist. To all it was obvious that Zionism was becoming a matter for

serious consideration. The Zionists were encouraged by this knowledge, the anti-Zionists put on the alert, the non-Zionists stirred with interest. Among others who were aroused by this stirring of the elements of the Zionist Movement was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Reader in Organic Chemistry in the University of Manchester. Born in Russian Poland, he had settled in England about ten years previously. He had been a Zionist even before the advent of Herzl, and although he had never held high office in the Organization, he had been prominent at the Congresses, where he had always advocated practical work in Palestine as opposed to those who wished to concentrate all the energies of the Organization on political work outside. Dr. Weizmann had devoted himself in particular to the realization of a Hebrew University in Palestine. Dr. Weizmann's official status in the Organization was that of membership of the Greater Executive Committee, a body that met very occasionally. Dr. Weizmann saw very clearly that the declaration of war with Turkey opened a new chapter in the history of Palestine. Determined to take as much advantage as he could of the opportunity, he was offered and accepted an introduction to Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, after the Prime Minister, perhaps the most influential member of the Cabinet. Mr. George readily granted the interview, but suggested that his colleague, Mr. Herbert Samuel, should also be present. The interview took place in due course, and Dr. Weizmann's views and hopes for the creation of a Jewish Palestine found ready sympathy from the two statesmen. Shortly afterwards Dr. Weizmann had an interview with Mr. A. J. Balfour (as he then was), who, although not a member of the Government, was largely in their confidence, and found him equally encouraging.

Dr. Weizmann was by now on the road of negotiation which was to lead to the Balfour Declaration, the San Remo agreement, and the incorporation in the

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Mandate for Palestine of an undertaking by the Mandatory to facilitate the reconstitution of the Jewish national home. Apart, however, from two or three of the younger English Zionists, on whom he relied for advice and assistance, he felt himself alone, and, moreover, devoid of adequate authority. He therefore sent an urgent invitation to Dr. Tchlenow and Mr. Sokolow, two of the Russian members of the Zionist executive, to come to London. When they arrived, he informed them of his intentions and of the sympathy with Zionism shown in influential Government circles. Here in London these three Zionist leaders, together with Mr. Asher Ginzberg ("Achad Ha-Am"), the philosopher of Zionism and the inspirer of cultural as distinguished from political Zionism, formed a small executive—or rather, perhaps, a cabinet—self-appointed, but yet enjoying the confidence of the mass of Zionists, to keep in touch with the British Government and to carry on the negotiations which Dr. Weizmann had commenced. Dr. Tchlenow returned to Russia after a time, came back to England, contracted illness, and died there. Mr. Ginzberg acted solely in a consultative capacity. Thus the whole of the negotiations and of the representation of the Jewish people in this crisis of its history fell on the shoulders of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow. The course of the conversations that they held was communicated as far as was practicable to the prominent Zionists in the United States, Russia, and the other Allied and neutral States, and received their approval. These two leaders of the Jewish people, therefore, although they had not been formally appointed, felt justified in the belief that they had the support of the whole of their electorate, and were correspondingly strengthened for their task.

In the meanwhile the Governments of the principal Allies had been considering the disposal of the non-Ottoman portions of the Turkish Empire in the event of a successful termination of the war, and had been

considering, among other problems, that of the disposal of Palestine. Under the Turkish régime Palestine west of the Jordan consisted of the Sanjaks of Nablus and Acre, forming part of the Vilayet of Beirut, together with the "independent" or unattached Sanjaks of Jerusalem and Beersheba. Palestine east of the Jordan consisted of the Sanjak of Kerak and a portion of the Sanjak of Hauran, both of which belonged to the Vilayet of Damascus. The Allies do not appear to have looked at the question as one of the disposal of the territories of a State, actual or prospective, but merely as one of the distribution of some odds and ends of territory, together with the protection of the Holy Places. Thus, under the secret treaty between Great Britain and France—known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement—which was signed in the spring of 1916, France was to have obtained northern Palestine, Britain the ports of Haifa and Acre, and, "with a view of securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the Holy Places, is separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special régime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France, and England." By Palestine in this clause was intended that part of Palestine, with the exception of Acre and Haifa, which lay south of the sphere allotted to France and west of the Jordan. To Palestine east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and further south towards the Gulf of Akaba, no reference was made, but it was presumably to be included in the somewhat nebulous Arab State or federation of States which was to be set up under another secret treaty—that with the Sherif of Mecca, who was afterwards to become King of the Hedjaz. Sir Mark Sykes, who negotiated this treaty on behalf of the British Government, was a Yorkshire member of the House of Commons, who had an exceptional knowledge of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring lands and of their peoples. But at the time of the negotiation of this treaty the Zionist question, the

claims of the Jews to Palestine, and the record of their work there, were for him an unopened book. It was only after the conclusion of the treaty that he came into contact with Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, and learnt from them of the ideals of Zionism. These ideals and the moderation and statesmanship of the programme that was unfolded to him immediately secured his enthusiastic adhesion. He had already been in communication with representatives of the Armenian and Arab peoples with the idea of utilizing the approaching break-up of the Ottoman Empire to realize the national aims of those two peoples, and at the same time to secure the pacification of the regions in which their ambitions were to be gratified. In his mind a Jewish Palestine was the keystone needed to complete the arch of which the other supports were a free Armenia and a self-governing Arab State. Thus policy and sentiment combined to make Sir Mark Sykes a Zionist.

Sykes was by now a duly accredited representative of the British Government, appointed to negotiate and arrange a mutually satisfactory policy, not only with the spokesmen of the Arabs and the Armenians, but also with those of the Zionists. A formal meeting with these latter was arranged, and took place in February, 1917, at the house of Dr. M. Gaster, the then Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of Great Britain, who had been one of the most prominent of Herzl's followers. There were also present at this meeting, in addition to Dr. Gaster and Sir Mark Sykes, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, Mr. Herbert Bentwich (another of the original prominent English Zionists), Mr. Joseph Cowen (the President of the English Zionist Federation), Mr. Harry Sacher (one of the best-known of the younger English Zionists), Mr. Herbert Samuel (no longer a member of the Government), and Mr. James de Rothschild. This conference put the relations of the Zionists and the British Government on a more regular footing, and

Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow were formally deputed to act on behalf of the Zionists in the further conversations that were to take place. The negotiations were in due course communicated to the French Government, and Mr. Sokolow was summoned to explain to the French Foreign Minister the aims of Zionism and their relationship to the existing international situation. The explanation satisfied the French, and M. Cambon wrote to Mr. Sokolow: "The French Government . . . can but feel sympathy for your cause, the triumph of which is bound up with that of the Allies. I am happy to give you herewith such assurance." From Paris Mr. Sokolow proceeded to Rome, where he obtained assurances of sympathy from the Italian Prime Minister and from the Pope.

In the meantime conversations were proceeding in London. Mr. Lloyd George had become Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour Foreign Secretary, and the Government included other tried friends of Zionism in Lord Milner, General Smuts, and Lord Robert Cecil. At the same time the military operations in Palestine, which had been practically suspended for a long time, again became active. During the greater part of the year 1917 the invasion of Palestine and the conversations between Sir Mark Sykes and the Zionist leaders progressed simultaneously, until the phases of both were concluded almost coincidently, the one in the occupation of Jerusalem, the other in the issue of the Balfour Declaration in the form of a letter addressed by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild under date November 2nd, 1917:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

So ran the pronouncement of the British Government, which was immediately hailed by Jews throughout the world as the charter of the Jewish Palestine. For the moment all Jews were Zionists. In England, on the Continent, in America (North and South), in Asia, in Africa, in Australia, the Jews of all countries met in gatherings to record their joy and their gratitude. Even the Zionists of Germany could not conceal their delight, and their central organization adopted a resolution of appreciation. The Declaration of the British Government was endorsed by the principal Allies—by the French Government in February, 1918; by the Italian in the following May; and by the Japanese in December, 1918. The United States not being at war with Turkey, it was felt that a similar step could not properly be taken by the American Government, but in August, 1918, President Wilson, in writing to the President of the American Zionist Federation, said: "I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist Movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the Declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries."

The Weizmann Commission to which President Wilson referred was a Zionist Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Weizmann, which was sent to Palestine by the British Government in the spring

of 1918. Its instructions were to act "as an advisory body to the British authorities in Palestine in all matters relating to Jews, or which may affect the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in accordance with the Declaration of His Majesty's Government." The objects of the Commission were: "(1) To form a link between the British authorities and the Jewish population of Palestine; (2) to co-ordinate the relief work in Palestine and to assist in the repatriation of exiled and evacuated persons and refugees; (3) to assist in restoring and developing the colonies and in organizing the Jewish population in general; (4) to assist the Jewish organizations and institutions in Palestine in the resumption of their activities; (5) to help in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities; (6) to collect information and report upon the possibilities of the further development of the Jewish settlement, and of the country in general; and (7) to enquire into the feasibility of the scheme of establishing a Jewish University." A great deal of this programme proved of a permanent character, and does not lend itself to special description. The most noteworthy of the actions of the Commission, but one that did not fall strictly within its instructions, was the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, on the outskirts of Jerusalem. This action may be taken as an emblem of the Zionism that was rapidly nearing its fruition, a Zionism that had perforce to adopt a political aspect, that needed material manifestations in order, as it were, to supply a home for its soul, but which is in its essential a spiritual movement, one for the preservation of the Jewish soul and the Jewish form of civilization.

With the submission of Turkey and the other enemy Powers, and the assembly of the Peace Conference at Paris, the political history of Zionism entered upon a new stage. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow went to

Paris to represent the Zionist cause, and representative Zionists came from America as well as from Europe to place their expert knowledge at their disposal. The Zionist representatives were heard by the Supreme Council of the Allies on the 27th of February, 1919, when they put forward the Zionist case and outlined the settlement for which they asked. Their proposals were: (1) The Powers should recognize the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute there their national home; (2) the sovereign possession of Palestine should be vested in the League of Nations, and the Government entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory of the League; (3) the inclusion in the Mandate for the government of Palestine of the following special conditions: (a) Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of a Jewish national home, and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. (b) To this end the Mandatory Power shall *inter alia*—(i.) promote Jewish immigration and close settlement on the land, the established rights of the present non-Jewish population being equitably safeguarded; (ii.) accept the co-operation in such measures of a council representative of the Jews of Palestine and of the world that may be established for the development of the Jewish national home in Palestine, and entrust the organization of Jewish education to that council; (iii.) on being satisfied that the constitution of such council precludes the making of private profit, offer to the council in priority any concession for public works or for the development of natural resources which it may be found desirable to grant. (c) The Mandatory Power shall encourage the widest measure of self-government for localities

practicable in the conditions of the country. (d) There shall be for ever the fullest freedom of religious worship for all creeds in Palestine, and no discrimination among the inhabitants with regard to citizenship and civil rights on the grounds of religion or race. No suggestions were made as to the conditions that were to govern the Holy Places, a matter which, it was thought, should be left entirely to the uninfluenced decision of the Powers. Suggested boundaries were, however, laid down, and these would have included in Palestine the lower course of the Litany, the southern slopes of Mount Hermon, the upper reaches of the Jordan, and on the East the Jaulan and the Yarmuk Valley, as well as the regions to the south of them. Under the Sykes-Picot agreement these were allotted to France, but for economic reasons they were practically essential to the proper development of the country. On historic grounds, also, Palestine could make out a good claim to them.

The Supreme Council of the Allied Powers heard the Zionist representatives, but the time was not ripe for a decision. Other and more pressing matters engaged their attention, and although the Palestine question was always on the agenda of the Conference, it was never taken up again in Paris, and, in fact, was not considered until the force of circumstances rendered further postponement impossible in April, 1920. The intervening period was one of alternate hopes and fears. Not that there was ever any doubt that the British Government would do its utmost to carry out its undertaking in the spirit as well as in the letter, but in this the British Government was not the only force, nor was it omnipotent. Though the authority of the unfortunate Sykes-Picot Treaty was seriously impaired by the defection of Russia and the French approval of the Balfour Declaration, it was nevertheless in occupation of the field; it had to be much amended if a Jewish Palestine was to develop and flourish. The war agreement between the British and the King of the Hedjaz

also carried with it unfortunate potentialities. There was, moreover, an Arab National Movement in Palestine, which, although not of much consequence, yet began to make itself heard in opposition to the British plans for a Palestine settlement. Certain Christian religious interests also showed their dislike of any arrangement whereby Jews might conceivably get control some day in Palestine. Finally, there was the remnant of the anti-Zionist Jewish stalwarts—in America as well as in Europe—who seemed determined to leave no stone unturned in their struggle to nullify the efforts of the Zionist leaders. All these elements of opposition had some effect, and caused at the least some trouble and annoyance; but it was only the first two difficulties that caused any serious anxiety. Power and influence among the Arabs, both within and without Palestine, became centred in the hands of the Emir Faisal, the head of the Arab armies which fought by the side of the Allies. For a few months, until he was driven out by the French, Faisal was King of Eastern Syria. He held throughout his brief career a very difficult position. On the one side he was urged, almost threatened, to extreme measures by a small circle of Arab chauvinist intelligentsia, an appreciable proportion of whom came from Palestine. On the other side was his natural intelligence and good sense, his knowledge of Western conditions and the possibilities they carried with them, and also a sincere desire to co-operate loyally with the Zionist leaders both within and without Palestine. Pressed by these opposing forces, his policy towards a Jewish Palestine vacillated somewhat, but the tendency was always in favour of a rapprochement. His real attitude may be summed up in the terms of a letter which he sent to Professor Felix Frankfurter, one of the American Zionist delegates in Paris, on the morrow of the appearance of the Zionist representatives before the Supreme Council:

“We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in

race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of Powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together. We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist Movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. . . . I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you, and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once more again take their place in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

The long delay in the settlement, due in part to the ultimately unrealized desire of the Principal Allied Powers to secure the co-operation of the United States, reacted unfavourably on the situation in Palestine. The hostile elements found themselves free to continue their intrigues, and succeeded in creating a feeling of uneasiness and suspicion in the non-Jewish population. At the same time, misunderstandings arose between the Jewish population and the military administration, which found itself confronted with problems hitherto entirely outside its cognizance, and at the same time hampered by its status of a military force nominally in temporary occupation of enemy territory. The unsettlement culminated in April, 1920, when, on the occasion of the Moslem festival of Nebi Mousa, certain Moslem elements attacked the Jewish population of Jerusalem and caused a number of casualties, and the destruction and looting of a large amount of property. These events, terrible as they were in so far as the individuals immediately affected were concerned, were not without their recompense. There was an immediate reaction at San Remo, where the Prime

Ministers of Britain, France, and Italy were meeting for the purpose *inter alia* of deciding on the draft of the Treaty that was to be presented to Turkey. In the draft on which their discussions were based there was no reference to Palestine beyond the record of its cession by Turkey to the Allies jointly. It was intended to defer to a later occasion consideration of the question of the ultimate disposal and status of the country. The events in Jerusalem, however, led to a change in this programme, and in the Treaty as approved at San Remo, and signed a few months later by Turkey and the Allied Powers at Sèvres, full recognition was given to the Zionist claims. The relative clause of the Treaty runs as follows:

The High Contracting Parties agree to entrust, by application of the provisions of Article 22, the administration of Palestine, within such boundaries as may be determined by the principal Allied Powers, to a Mandatory to be selected by the said Powers. The Mandatory will be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

It was also decided at San Remo, in accordance with the wishes of the Zionists, that the Mandate for the government of Palestine should be entrusted to Great Britain. Once this was settled, the British Government decided to bring the military administration of Palestine to an end with the least possible delay, and to introduce a civil administration. As the head of this administration was designated Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Samuel, who had just returned from a mission to investigate and report on economic and administrative questions in Palestine. Sir Herbert entered on his office of High Commissioner on the 1st of July, 1920, and immediately set about establishing a permanent civil administration.

Only two matters, so far as the political situation was concerned, remained for settlement—the frontiers and the terms of the Mandate. Both were settled by direct negotiation between the British and French Governments, the confidence between the former and the Zionist representatives being complete. The boundaries suggested in the original communication to the Supreme Council of February, 1919, were not granted. The French endeavoured to hold to the line laid down in the Sykes-Picot Treaty, but ultimately conceded a loop of territory so as to include in Palestine Metulla, the northernmost of the new Jewish settlements, and Banias, near the ancient Dan. The Tyre and Sidon districts, the lower course of the Litany, the northernmost reaches of the Jordan, the southern slopes of Mount Hermon, the Jaulan, the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, and the Yarmuk Valley, with the exception of the last few miles before it flows into the Jordan, were all excluded from Palestine. These exclusions cannot but have a most unfavourable effect on the development of the country, and in some instances, while doing great harm to Palestine, will be of no appreciable benefit to Syria; but it was impossible to induce the French to concede any more. One modification of this decision only was made: an agreement is to be negotiated between the French and the British whereby the surplus waters of the northern Jordan and the Yarmuk are to be at the disposal of Palestine for power-generating and irrigation purposes.

On the terms of the Mandate the settlement was more satisfactory. On certain points negotiations were still necessary between the British Government and the Zionist representatives, but in the form which it finally assumed the Mandate was generally regarded as meeting the legitimate requirements of the Zionists in all material particulars. The draft Mandate was submitted to the Council of the League of Nations by the British Government on December 7th, 1920, in the hope of its early approval. Unexpected delays

intervened. On the one hand, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, though signed at Sèvres on August 10th, 1920, was not ratified, with the result that the international status of Palestine remained ambiguous. On the other hand, the United States, though refusing to be a party to any of the peace treaties, put in a claim, which was admitted, to be heard on the question of the various Mandates. In the case of Palestine, at all events, all that the American Government really desired was to be satisfied that American commercial and other rights were duly safeguarded. The negotiations, however, proceeded in a somewhat leisurely manner. It was not until July, 1922, that the Mandate was actually considered and approved by the Council of the League of Nations.

In the summer of 1921 the draft Mandate was slightly modified. The articles relative to the Jewish national home, however, were unaffected, and the only change of importance was the insertion of an article enabling the Mandatory to postpone or withhold the application of inappropriate provisions of the Mandate in those parts of Palestine lying east of the Jordan.

The text of the Mandate, as approved by the Council of the League, is as follows. The text given is that of the English version as presented to Parliament in December, 1922 (Cmd. 1785):

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

Whereas the principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for

putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the Mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the Mandate in respect of Palestine, and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned Article 22 (paragraph 8) it is provided that the degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1.—The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this Mandate.

Article 2.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing

institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3.—The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4.—An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist Organization, so long as its organization and constitution are, in the opinion of the Mandatory, appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps, in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 5.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6.—The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7.—The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 8.—The immunities and privileges of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned privileges and immunities on August 1, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the Mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities, and for their religious interests, shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10.—Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11.—The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country, or of the public works, services, and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of pro-

moting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services, and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 12.—The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine, and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13.—All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights, and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who will be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected therewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangement as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this Article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this Mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14.—A special Commission shall be appointed

by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission, shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15.—The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, is ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17.—The Administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified, save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval, or air forces shall

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be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways, and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18.—The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this Mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and Customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special Customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19.—The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and naviga-

tion, aerial navigation, and postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication, or literary, artistic, or industrial property.

Article 20.—The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21.—The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archæological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations.

1. "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

2. The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

3. No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity. No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said department.

4. Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

5. No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorized by the competent Department.

6. Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation,

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temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest.

7. Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to eliminate scholars of any nation without good grounds.

8. The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22.—English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and a statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23.—The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Article 24.—The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the Mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25.—In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this Mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided

that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16, and 18.

Article 26.—The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the Mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 27.—The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this Mandate.

Article 28.—In the event of the termination of the Mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity under guarantees of the League the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing under the guarantee of the League that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the Mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations, and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July,
one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

THE JERUSALEM UNIVERSITY

BY DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

LIKE the whole of the Zionist ideal, the project of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem has passed through successive stages of acceptance, beginning with a very narrow circle of enthusiasts and winning wider support as it approached the threshold of reality, on which it stands to-day. The Hebrew University is now an acknowledged part of our programme of Jewish construction in Palestine. The detailed plans are not complete, but a considerable body of work has already been accomplished, and the immediate future is likely to see the beginnings of the University functioning in Jerusalem.

What is the significance of a Jewish University—what are going to be its functions, whence will it draw its students, and what languages will it speak? It seems at first sight paradoxical that in a land with so sparse a population as that of Palestine, in a land where everything still remains to be done, in a land crying out for such simple things as ploughs, roads and harbours, we should begin by creating a centre of spiritual and intellectual development. But it is not a paradox for those who know the soul of the Jew. We Jews know that when the mind is given fullest play, when we have a centre for the development of Jewish consciousness, then coincidentally will we attain the fulfilment of our material needs. In the darkest ages of our existence we found protection and shelter within the walls of our schools and colleges, and in devoted study of Jewish science the tormented Jews sought relief

and consolation. Amid all the sordid squalor of the Ghetto there stood schools of learning, where numbers of young Jews sat at the feet of our Rabbis and teachers. Those schools and colleges served as large reservoirs where was stored up during the long ages of persecution an intellectual and spiritual energy which on the one hand helped to maintain our national existence, and on the other hand blossomed forth for the benefit of mankind when once the walls of the Ghetto fell. The sages of Babylon and Jerusalem, Maimonides and the Gaon of Wilna, the lens-polisher of Amsterdam and Karl Marx, Heinrich Hertz and Paul Ehrlich, are some of the links in the long, unbroken chain of intellectual development.

The University, as its name implies, is to teach everything the mind of man embraces. No teaching can be fruitful nowadays unless it is strengthened by a spirit of enquiry and research; and a modern University must not only produce highly trained professional men, but give ample opportunity to those who are ready and qualified to devote themselves to scientific research to do so unhindered and undisturbed. Our University will thus become the home of those hundreds of talented young Jews in whom the thirst for learning and critical enquiry has been engrained by heredity throughout ages, and who in the great multitude of cases are at present compelled to satisfy this their burning need amid un-Jewish, very often unfriendly, surroundings.

The claim that the University of Jerusalem should be a Jewish one rests upon the values the Jews have transmitted to the world from Palestine. A world which has paid reverence to Hebrew seers and has acknowledged the great mental and spiritual values the Jewish people have given to it, will admit the justice of this claim. The University is to stimulate the Jewish people to reach further truth. Is it too bold to hope that the seers of Israel have not utterly perished, that under the ægis of a Jewish University there will be a renaissance

of the Divine power of prophetic wisdom that once belonged to the Hebrew nation ?

The University will be the focus of the rehabilitation of our Jewish consciousness, now so tenuous because it has become so world-diffused. In a University on the Mount of Olives our consciousness will be rekindled and our youth will be reinvigorated from Jewish sources. Since it is to be a Jewish University, the question hardly arises as to its language. By a strange error, people have regarded Hebrew as one of the dead languages, whilst, in fact, it has never died off the lips of mankind. True, to many Jews it has become a lost language; but for thousands Hebrew is and always has been the sacred tongue, and in the streets of Tel Aviv, in the orchards of Rishon and Rechoboth, on the farms of Hulda and Ben Shemen, it has already become the mother tongue. In Palestine, amid the Babel of languages, Hebrew stands out as the one language in which every Jew can communicate with every other Jew. Upon the technical difficulties connected with Hebrew instruction it is unnecessary to dwell here. We are alive to them; but the experience of the Palestinian Hebrew schools has already shown that they are surmountable. These are all points of detail which have been carefully examined, and will be dealt with at the appropriate time. Suffice it here to say that the language of the Jewish University will be Hebrew, just as French is used at the Sorbonne, or English at Oxford. Naturally, other languages, ancient and modern, will be taught in their respective faculties; among these we may expect that prominent attention will be given to Arabic and other Semitic languages.

The Jewish University, though intended primarily for Jews, will of course give an affectionate welcome to the members of every race and every creed. "My house is a house of prayer for all the nations." Besides the usual schools and institutions which go to form a modern University, there will be certain branches of

science which it will be peculiarly appropriate to associate with the Jerusalem University. Archæological research, which has revealed so much of the mysterious past of Egypt and Greece, has a harvest still to be reaped in Palestine, and the University is destined to play an important part in this field of knowledge.

The question as to the faculties with which the University should begin its career is limited to some extent by practical considerations. The beginnings of a University are not entirely lacking in Palestine. We have in Jerusalem the elements of a Pasteur Institute and a Health Bureau, whence valuable contributions to Bacteriology and Sanitation have already been made. There is the School of Technology at Haifa and the Agricultural Experimental Station. It is to scientific research and its application that we can confidently look for the banishment of those twin plagues of Palestine, malaria and trachoma, and for the eradication of other indigenous diseases; it is to true scientific method that we may look for the full cultivation of a fair and fertile land which is now so unproductive. Chemistry and Bacteriology, Geology and Climatology will be required to join forces, so that the great value of the University in the building up of the Jewish national home may be realized. The terrible experience of the War, with its misapplication of scientific methods, should not make us forget that we must look to science as the healer of many wounds and the redeemer of many evils.

Side by side with scientific research, the humanities will occupy a distinguished place. Ancient Jewish learning, the accumulated, half-hidden treasures of our ancient philosophical and religious-juridical literature, are to be brought to light again and freed from the dust of ages. They will be incorporated in the new life now about to develop in Palestine, and so the Hebrew past will be linked up with the present.

One very important aspect of the University remains

to be briefly mentioned. The University, while trying to maintain the highest scientific level, must at the same time be rendered accessible to all classes of the people. The workman and farm labourer must be enabled to find there a possibility of continuing and completing his education in his free hours. The doors of our libraries, lecture rooms and laboratories must be opened widely to all. Thus the University will exercise its beneficial influence on the nation as a whole. The nucleus of a University library is already in existence, and very valuable additions to it are being made year by year. The establishment of a University Press and the issue of a University Journal will be further steps in the direction of making the University an instrument for the diffusion of knowledge.

So far as to the ideals which the promoters of the Jerusalem University set before themselves. Those ideals cannot be realized in a day. There is no side of Jewish work in Palestine in which slow progress and gradual growth are more essential to success than they are in this matter of the University. Before we can hope to have a University in Jerusalem fit to take its place among the world's great academic institutions, we have to prepare the ground, to create the atmosphere in which alone a University can live. It is easy enough to give lectures and to grant degrees; but the essential thing is that the lectures should be first-rate, that the degrees should command respect because of the standing of the institution which grants them. Jerusalem must win recognition as a home of modern learning before the title of graduate of the Jerusalem University can be of any value. Scientific research and scholarship must be acclimatized in Jerusalem before the full work of a University is undertaken. In other words, the University cannot be created out of nothing, but must grow out of a number of institutes established primarily for research purposes. These institutes will be the training ground for the Professors of the future. The time at which any particular institute can blossom

out as a teaching faculty will depend on circumstances; but when the time does come each Faculty will be properly equipped for its work. Plans are already in hand for research institutes in Microbiology and Tropical Medicine, as well as in Physics and Chemistry. On the side of the humanities, the possibility of establishing an Academy of Jewish and Semitic scholarship is being investigated. The difficulties in the way of these first beginnings are not insignificant. Jerusalem is poorly equipped for any form of scholarly or scientific work; the dislike of certain elements of its population for modern progress has to be reckoned with; there may also be factious opposition based on political motives. Every step must be taken with caution. But each successful step will make the next easier, and in time, on the foundations laid by the research institutes, the complete University will arise.

The question of a University building is not yet a practical problem. The research institutes at present in contemplation can be housed in a building which already exists on the Mount of Olives site, where the foundation-stones of the University were laid over four years ago. Any more ambitious building scheme, such as that which Professor Geddes has planned in such noble proportions, must bide its time. But its time will come. For the idea of a University is an integral part of the aims which animate Jewish work in Palestine, and its abandonment can no more be conceived than the cessation of that work. Our University, informed by Jewish learning and Jewish energy, will mould itself into an integral part of the new Jewish life which is in process of growth. It will have a centripetal force, attracting all that is noblest in Jewry throughout the world; it will be a unifying centre for our scattered elements. From it will go forth inspiration and strength to revivify the powers now latent in our scattered communities. There the troubled soul of Israel will reach its haven, its strength no longer consumed in restless and vain wanderings. Israel will

at last remain at peace within itself and with the world. There is a Talmudic legend that tells of the Jewish soul, deprived of its body, hovering between heaven and earth. Such is our soul to-day; to-morrow it shall come to rest in the sanctuary of our University. That is our faith.

HEBREW EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

BY DR. J. LURIE (JERUSALEM)

THE Hebrew school system in Palestine has been built up during the last thirty years in the face of very great difficulties. Especially difficult was it to introduce Hebrew as a living tongue. The Jewish population of Palestine consisted thirty years ago, and still consists, of various communities with different languages and customs, brought with them from the countries of their origin. It was absolutely essential from the point of view of a Jewish national revival that all the children should speak one language, and that Hebrew, in order to remove the differences created by life in the Diaspora, and to link up the present with the historic Jewish past. The Hebrew school began its work before there was a Hebrew-speaking section of the people. Even the teachers did not know the language fluently, and there were great deficiencies in the vocabulary, both for everyday life and for technical purposes. Teachers and pupils alike suffered from the multiplicity of tongues; and the attempt to make Hebrew the one language of school life was so beset with difficulties that there were many even among the teachers who did not believe in the possibility of success. But to-day the renaissance of the Hebrew language has become a fact. Hebrew is familiar as a vehicle of thought and speech to a great part of the Jewish population of Palestine, and is the accepted language of Jewish public life in the country. This result is due to the Hebrew school.

The Hebrew school was a new creation not only as

regards its language, but also as regards the principle on which it was founded and the nature of its studies. The education of Jews in the Diaspora was based on two opposing systems. On the one hand, there was the system of the *Cheder*, the *Talmud-Torah*, and the *Yeshibah*, which gave a purely religious education; on the other hand, there were schools which gave a general education, but paid no attention to Jewish studies. The school in Palestine had to unite these two systems, as regards both the subjects of study and the teaching, and to combine them into an organic unity. In attempting this task, it had to create new methods in all branches of study. Neither in the Diaspora nor in Palestine was there any example of a secular Hebrew type of school to serve as a guide. Everything had to be begun anew. It was impossible, for instance, to teach general history alone; it had to be taught in connection with Jewish history and with the life of the Orient. In the study of geography, again, the principal subject had to be Palestine and the adjoining countries, and natural history had to be based on the Palestinian flora and fauna. Even such an abstract subject as arithmetic had to be adapted to Palestinian life. All this required much painstaking work.

Hebrew educational work in Palestine was thus begun without a language, without textbooks, without previous experience on which to base a new system, and without adequate knowledge of the conditions of the country. Moreover, various societies and organizations were engaged in the education of children in Palestine, each pursuing its own aims and furthering the study of the language of the European country to which its members belonged. However, the vital energy of the Jewish national movement overcame all obstacles, and there is now in Palestine a complete network of Hebrew schools of various kinds which are not inferior to the schools of the Western world, and are preparing their pupils to play a worthy part in the

life of the country. The various types of school are briefly described below.

1. **INFANT SCHOOLS (KINDERGARTENS).**—The infant school plays an important part in Jewish life in Palestine. It takes the place of the home in cases where the mother is unable, for economic reasons, to look after her children. The eye and skin diseases which are so prevalent among the poorer classes of Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed, require special attention, and in this matter the infant school fulfils an important function in caring for the health of the younger generation.

The infant school teachers, besides caring for the physical and mental development of their pupils, develop in them the love of nature and of animals. Much time is devoted to singing, drawing, and modelling, and to straw and paper work, and the faculties of the children are thus developed. The infant schools of Palestine have one function which differentiates them from those of other countries. It is in these schools that the little ones learn the Hebrew language, and thus the infant schools help to introduce Hebrew into the Jewish home, as the parents often learn the language from their children. The infant schools are attended by children of the age of three to six years.* The Froebel system is that mostly in vogue, but the Montessori method is used in some schools.

2. **ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.**—The elementary schools provide an eight years' course of instruction, and the children should thus remain at school till their fourteenth or fifteenth year; but attendance at school is not at present compulsory in Palestine, and many children leave school for economic reasons before they have completed the full course. The curriculum includes the Hebrew language and grammar, the Hebrew Prayer Book, elementary Bible teaching, and the simpler parts of the Rabbinic literature (Mishnah and Aggadah). Jewish history and Hebrew literature are

* Full statistics are given on pp. 87-90.

taught in conjunction with general history; a complete course in arithmetic is given, and more elementary teaching in geometry, physics, and chemistry. Geography and nature-study are taught with special reference to Palestine. Hygiene, drawing, book-keeping, class-singing, handiwork, and vegetable gardening are also included in the curriculum, and the girls are taught sewing. English is taught only in the schools in towns; instruction in it begins in the fifth school year.

The teaching in these schools is principally based upon the system of independent work by the pupils. The teacher aims at the development of the powers of observation and the intelligence of the pupils; he endeavours to make them discover rules and principles for themselves, to find the connection between facts, and to trace cause and effect. Much importance is also attached to practical work, though insufficiency of means has hitherto hampered full development on this side. Gardening is taught in every school which has an open space attached to it, and more particularly in the village schools, in some of which the teaching of poultry-farming and agriculture has also been introduced. In some schools instruction is given in book-binding and carpentry, and sewing and garment-cutting are taught in all the girls' schools. Domestic economy will be added to the curriculum of the girls' schools as soon as circumstances permit.

In some of the elementary schools (the "orthodox" schools) much time is given to religious subjects; for instance, the Talmud is taught from the fourth school year onwards, ten hours per week. As a consequence, the school hours are longer and less time is devoted to general subjects, especially natural history, singing, drawing, and gymnastics. The "orthodox" schools also insist on practical religious observance, whereas the ordinary schools regard this as a matter to be determined by the home rather than by the school.

3. SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—The secondary schools respond to the demand of the urban Jewish population for a wider education than that given by the elementary school. Their existence has attracted to Palestine numbers of well-to-do and cultured families, who would not live in Palestine if they had not the opportunity of giving their children as good an education as they could get elsewhere.

There are three secondary schools in the country: the High Schools at Tel-Aviv (Jaffa) and Jerusalem, and the Haifa Technical School. All three are co-educative.

The principal aim of the secondary school is to prepare the young generation for work in Palestine, but at the same time the subsidiary aim of preparing students for the University is not lost sight of. The secondary schools give their pupils a thorough training in the Hebrew language and literature and in Jewish history, a wide knowledge of the Bible, and a more than elementary acquaintance with the Talmud. In general subjects, the programme of these schools is similar to that of the secondary schools in Switzerland. English, Arabic, and French are taught. On the practical side, gardening, practical work in natural studies, carpentry (in Jaffa and Haifa), sewing for girls, and domestic economy (at Haifa) are among the subjects of instruction.

A large number of those who have completed a course at one of the secondary schools remain in Palestine, and are employed as clerks in various offices or as teachers. Others have taken up agriculture in *Kwuzoth* (co-operative workmen's groups) or on farms; others, again, are completing their studies in Universities abroad with the intention of returning to Palestine. In general knowledge they are not inferior to the products of secondary schools in any other country, and they have, in addition, a good knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature. Many of them have entered without difficulty the Universities of Europe and

America, and where examinations were required of them, have passed them successfully without special preparation.

4. TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGES.—The network of schools includes three institutions for the training of teachers of both sexes and of kindergarten teachers: (1) a General Teachers' Training College; (2) an Orthodox Teachers' Training College (both in Jerusalem); (3) a Training College for Women Teachers and Kindergarten Teachers at Jaffa. These training colleges train their students to give instruction both in Hebrew and in general subjects. Their programme takes into account the necessity of familiarizing the students with the actual conditions of life in Palestine. The curriculum of the Orthodox Teachers' Training College is specially adapted to the needs of the orthodox schools. The Training College for Women Teachers and for Kindergarten Teachers is an amalgamation of two previously separate institutions, a Kindergarten Teachers' Training College at Jerusalem, and a Women Teachers' Training School at Jaffa. This combination on the one hand gives an opportunity to women teachers to be trained also in the work of the infant schools, so that they can make use of their training in the lower classes, which are transitional from the infant school to the elementary school, and on the other hand enables the infant school teachers to study the methods of elementary school teaching which are necessary in the smaller schools, where the elementary school and the infant school are combined in one institution. The general subjects are taught in common to the two classes of teachers; only the special work is taught separately.

The Teachers' Training Colleges in Palestine prepare teachers not only for Palestine, but also for the Diaspora. New Hebrew schools are being established in Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania, and the demand for Hebrew teachers is increasing in the Eastern countries adjoining Palestine. The students of the Pales-

tinian training colleges will thus spread the Hebrew language and help to develop Hebrew education in all the lands of the Diaspora.

5. ART AND MUSIC SCHOOLS.—(i.) *The "Bezalel" School*.—The aim of this school is to develop Jewish art and to give lessons in the arts. It has been in existence for fifteen years. It has been a centre for talented young artists who aspire to create artistic work in connection with the renaissance of the nation and the country. "Bezalel" has influenced the manner and style of their work, and has developed various kinds of artistic production which provide employment for many workmen engaged in factories or in workmen's groups, or working for themselves.

(ii.) *Music Schools*.—There are three music schools, in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Jaffa. In addition to their ordinary work, they organize choirs and orchestras, and arrange public concerts at popular prices. They are thus an important influence in the æsthetic education of the Palestinian public. These schools are private institutions, receiving only a small subvention from the Hebrew Education Department (see below).

6. WORK SCHOOLS.—There have been a number of work schools for girls in existence for many years; these were founded by various societies and associations, and supported by philanthropists abroad. During the war, when the subsidies from abroad were suspended, these institutions were in a critical condition, and the Relief Committee came to their assistance. The Education Department has helped these institutions by providing them with instructors in Hebrew and general subjects.

The educational system described above is probably unique in that it is maintained almost entirely without State assistance. This does not mean that the system is self-supporting; on the contrary, as is shown in the annexed Tables II. and III., the income from school fees covers only about 15 per cent. of the expenditure.

The remaining 85 per cent. is covered—except for a few small contributions from some of the Jewish colonies and an exiguous grant from the Government of Palestine—by the Zionist Organization, which maintains the school system through its Education Department in Jerusalem. Thus Jewish education in Palestine is in the main a charge on the Jews of the world, and a charge which has, of course, to be met out of purely voluntary contributions. This state of things, apparently anomalous, is in reality a true reflection of the relation in which the Jews of the world stand to the nascent Jewish life in Palestine. They see in that life something which in a sense belongs to them all, something which has a meaning and a value for every Jew who believes in the possibility of a national revival. That the Hebrew language should maintain the position which it has of late regained as a medium of intercourse and of instruction, and that the young generation of Palestinian Jews should be fitted by its training to play a worthy part in the upbuilding of the land and in the evolution of a specially Hebraic type of life—these are ideals which vitally concern not only the Jews of Palestine, but also all Jews throughout the world for whom Palestine has a special significance as the cradle of their people's history and the object of its unswerving attachment. It is thus in the nature of things that the cost of Hebrew education in Palestine should be borne by the Jewish people as a whole—at any rate, until such time as the Jews of Palestine are materially strong enough to take over the whole of the burden.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

I.—NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, AND PUPILS.

<i>Type of School.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Teachers.</i>	<i>Classes.</i>	<i>Pupils.</i>
Kindergartens ..	49	104	103	2,623
Elementary schools ..	64	345	300	8,084
Secondary schools ..	3	52	25	686
Training colleges ..	3	39	17	319
Special schools ..	5	20	18	348
Work schools ..	7	14	16	396
Total	131	574	479	12,456

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Teachers.</i>	<i>Classes.</i>	<i>Pupils.</i>
Jerusalem	31	198	156	4,315
Jaffa	16	128	96	3,012
Haifa	6	38	28	789
Tiberias	4	19	18	408
Safed	4	21	21	484
Other towns	7	12	13	161
Judæan colonies ..	28	77	73	1,654
Samarian colonies ..	7	17	16	340
Galilean colonies ..	22	36	33	615
Syria*	6	28	25	678
Total	131	574	479	12,456

NOTE.—Besides the 12,456 pupils shown above, there are 2,170 attending evening schools subsidized by the Education Department (33 institutions, with a staff of 63 teachers).

* The Education Department, in addition to its work in Palestine itself, maintains Hebrew schools in Damascus and Sidon.

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II.—EXPENDITURE OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

1920-1921.

<i>Type of School.</i>	<i>Salaries.</i>	<i>Rent.</i>	<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
	££.	££.	££.	££.
Kindergartens ..	15,794·185	1,853·990	1,204·863	18,853·038
Elementary schools	60,427·305	3,891·235	3,632·436	67,950·976
Secondary schools	16,156·012	150·000	3,069·738	19,375·750
Training colleges ..	10,896·327	310·500	799·194	12,006·021
Special schools ..	7,326·010	259·000	695·762	8,280·772
Work schools ..	1,752·185	—	14·815	1,767·000
Total ..	112,352·024	6,464·725	9,416·808	128,233·557

1921-1922 (*Approximate Figures*).

<i>Type of School.</i>	<i>Salaries.</i>	<i>Rent.</i>	<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
	££.	££.	££.	££.
Kindergartens ..	13,432·800	1,457·100	730·750	15,620·650
Elementary schools	57,035·266	4,477·900	3,477·250	64,990·416
Secondary schools	15,609·879	175·000	1,235·000	17,019·879
Training colleges ..	10,368·900	375·000	440·000	11,183·900
Special schools ..	6,125·595	215·000	109·000	6,449·595
Work schools ..	1,945·390	—	—	1,945·390
Total ..	104,517·830	6,700·000	5,992·000	117,209·830

III.—INCOME FROM SCHOOL FEES.

1920-1921.

<i>Type of School.</i>	<i>Income.</i>	<i>Income per Pupil.</i>	<i>Income per Cent. of Expendi- ture.</i>
	£E.	£E.	
Kindergartens	1,669·515	0·680	8·9
Elementary schools ..	7,959·896	1·071	11·7
Secondary schools ..	6,428·280	9·609	33·2
Training colleges ..	612·595	1·896	5·1
Special schools	2,788·136	7·242	33·7
Work schools	1·350	—	—
Total	19,459·772	1·672	15·2

1921-1922.

<i>Type of School.</i>	<i>Income.</i>	<i>Income per Pupil.</i>	<i>Income per Cent. of Expendi- ture.</i>
	£E.	£E.	
Kindergartens	1,950·000	0·985	12·4
Elementary schools ..	9,995·000	1·419	15·8
Secondary schools ..	6,656·155	9·905	38·6
Training colleges ..	600·000	1·143	5·3
Special schools	2,361·675	6·671	36·6
Work schools	—	—	—
Total	21,562·830	1·731	18·3

THE FUTURE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PALESTINE

BY CANON DANBY (ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL,
JERUSALEM).

THERE is no intention here to argue the need or the utility of archæological work in the Holy Land. Such work will not help to build up the future Palestine; it will neither aid productivity nor add material wealth. But, in spite of this, and in spite of the further fact that Palestine can never produce antiquarian sensations on the same scale as Egypt and Mesopotamia, men have, none the less, always been found to give years of their life to the monotony of excavation and the mechanical and uncomfortable routine of land surveying; thousands more have been forthcoming who were prepared to provide the means for carrying out these labours; and there are tens of thousands more who follow the results with careful attention. A world-wide interest can, therefore, be assumed in whatever the archæologist is able to add to our knowledge of Palestinian history; and this is enough to justify our devoting some space to discovering, as far as possible, to what extent the prospects of such work in post-war Palestine differ from what they were in Turkish Palestine.

The sum total of work accomplished during the last half-century is impressive. Though it is hoped that the standard set under the Turkish régime can easily be surpassed, it is high enough to contradict the common belief that Turkey, as a Government, obstructed scientific investigation. Past achievements, apart

from their intrinsic value, have served their purpose in giving ample warning of what is and what is not to be expected, and have demonstrated, both by mistakes and by successes, the best lines of work for the future. The hardest thing that can be said of past work is that it was sometimes amateurish, often undertaken on too small a scale, and not encouraged and guided as it deserved to be by an educated sympathy from the officials of the existing Government.

It would not be in place to give a detailed catalogue of what was accomplished before the present régime began; but a brief summary will help us to draw for ourselves conclusions as to what more can be expected in the changed and still changing circumstances.

Scientific study of the localities and antiquities of the country may be said to have begun with the travels of Edward Robinson,* an American. His work, as well as that of his immediate successors,† Eli Smith, Tobler, Guérin, Renan, Lynch, Anderson,‡ Payne, Meyer, and Merril,§ was of the nature only of intelligent surface observation and description. It was, for example, Lynch's expedition in 1837 which first revealed the fact that the surface of the Dead Sea is 1,300 feet below sea-level. Till 1865, when the Palestine Exploration Fund was organized, all work had been confined to individual enterprise, and results were correspondingly trifling. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund made larger projects possible, and, by securing the moral and consular support of the Government, obtained to some extent facilities from the Turkish officials not easily procurable by casual individuals. Excavation work proper now became

* "Biblical Researches," New York, 1841. Second edition, embodying results of second journey, 3 vols., London, 1856.

† See F. J. Bliss, "The Development of Palestine Exploration," New York, 1906.

‡ See "Official Report of the United States Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and River Jordan," Baltimore, 1852.

§ See his "East of the Jordan," New York, 1853.

possible even in and about Jerusalem itself,* and the vital necessity of careful preliminary cartography could be provided for on an elaborate scale. The first authoritative map, the basis of all subsequent work of a similar nature, was published in 1880; it is on the scale of 1 inch to a mile, and treats an area of 6,000 square miles, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, and from the Egyptian desert to a point near Tyre. Conder and Kitchener were among those chiefly responsible for the work. Excavation was not resumed again until 1890, when Professor Petrie began on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund the clearing of the mound Tell el-Hesi, the ancient Lachish. Work was continued by Dr. F. J. Bliss in 1892. Many important discoveries were made, but the more permanent value of the excavation lay in the beginnings of ceramic classification, the basic factor in the study and identification of the stratification of Palestinian mounds. From 1894 to 1897 Dr. Bliss carried out various small excavations in Jerusalem, and from 1898 to 1900 various districts in the Shephelah were treated by Bliss and Macalister—namely, Tell Zachariya (the Biblical Azekah); Tell es-Safi (? Gath), where a Canaanitish “high place” was discovered for the first time; Tell el-Judeideh; and Marash (Moresbeth Gath). By far the most important work, whether measured in terms of scope, time, or results, was the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations at Tell el-Jazar (identified in 1902 by Clermont-Ganneau as the Biblical Gezer). Nearly seven years were devoted to the work, half the mound was excavated, and material was found and classified to an extent which served to amplify and correct the results reached earlier at Lachish. Ain Shems (the Biblical Beth Shemesh) was excavated in 1911 and 1912; and in the year before the war, Messrs. C. L. Woolley and

* Warren, “Recovery of Jerusalem,” London, 1870; “Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund” (“Jerusalem”), 1889.

T. E. Lawrence (better known for his services with the Hedjaz Arabs) were sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund to explore the wilderness south of Palestine—the Wilderness of Zin.

The *Deutsche Palästina-Verein*, organized in 1877, carried out excavations near Jerusalem (1880) and at Megiddo (1903). Various Austrian scientific bodies combined to find means to enable Sellin (1902-03) to excavate Taanach. The *Deutsches Orient-Gesellschaft* in 1904 investigated the remains of ancient synagogues in Galilee and the Jaulan, and in 1907 to 1909 carried out excavations at Jericho.

The years 1908-1911 give us two types of archaeological expedition, the one the type on which we place our greatest hopes for the future, and the other illustrative of the bad methods to which the new régime will put an end.

In 1900 the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine was opened. They had not sufficient income to meet the heavy expenses involved in excavation, but in 1908-1910, through the generosity of Mr. Jacob Schiff of New York, Harvard University was able to excavate the site of ancient Samaria, entrusting the work to Professor D. G. Lyon, the Director of the American School, and getting important results.* There is now scarcely room for doubt that the centre of support for archaeological work in Palestine has shifted from Europe to America, and that the most important work will, in the future, be done by expeditions organized by learned American societies. They have already begun work on an ample scale, and much more is promised in the next few years.†

Excavation might seem a harmless enough pursuit,

* *Harvard Theological Review*, ii. 102-113; iii. 136-138, 248-263.

† The University Museum of Philadelphia has already begun its second season of extensive excavations at Beisan (the Beth Shean of Scripture); the site of Megiddo has been provisionally reserved for the University of Chicago, and that of Samaria for the University of Harvard.

but it can be dangerous. "In the years 1909, 1910, and 1911 an English expedition, under Captain the Hon. Montague Parker, a retired officer of the British Army, made extensive explorations upon Ophel, the slope of the eastern hill south of the present city walls at Jerusalem. Parker was not an archæologist, and the motive for the exploration is not yet disclosed. The party is said to have been abundantly supplied with money, and to have come to Palestine in a private yacht, which was anchored off Jaffa while they were at work. In 1911 the hostility of the Moslems became so excited by the rumour that they had attempted to excavate under the Mosque of Omar that the expedition came to an abrupt close, and the explorers escaped in their yacht."* As one of the outcomes of the present control of antiquities, such private and irregular, and it may be amateurish, work will no longer be possible.

The result of half a century's work under Turkish régime is not by any means negligible. We have good reason to rejoice that there is now a British Administration to deal with; but the reiterated expressions of gratitude abounding in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, addressed to the Turkish Administration, offering thanks for opportunities given to the various archæologists at work in the field, wholly forbid any idea that the Porte wilfully thwarted research. But it is a very different story when we come to the question of facilities for obtaining firmans for excavation, the heart-breaking delays, and the obtaining of permits by properly accredited workers. It is in these directions that the greatest changes have now taken place, changes on which we can base the most confident hopes of a flourishing future for antiquarian investigation.

* See George A. Barton, "Archæology and the Bible," third edition, Philadelphia, 1920. For some of the results of the Parker Expedition see "Jérusalem sous terre: les récentes fouilles d'Ophel," décrite par H. Vincent, London, 1911.

During the military occupation nothing, of course, could be done to effect any modification of past methods, nor was that the time for such things as excavation. But the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration was quite alive to its responsibilities, and an officer was detailed to watch over the safety of ancient monuments, and to take the necessary steps when anything of importance came to light, such as, for example, the Ain Duk Synagogue mosaic inscription unearthed by a chance Turkish shell.* With the setting up of the civil administration in the summer of 1920 things began to move rapidly. Within a few days of his arrival, the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, sought advice and ideas with the object of setting up a special Department for Antiquities. This recognition of archæology as a branch of activity important enough to rank as a special department was an almost unprecedented step; it at once proved that the new administration perceived that one of the prime obligations of the Power ruling Palestine was the care of the historical places and monuments. The department was quickly organized. The staff of the British School of Archæology had arrived only a few months earlier, and it was, therefore, the happiest piece of fortune for the country, and also for the interested world at large, that there was available on the spot at the moment such an able and famous archæologist as Professor Garstang to advise as to methods and assume the position of director of the young department. There quickly followed the formation of the Archæological Advisory Board, and the promulgation of the Antiquities Ordinance. It is on these two factors that the future of archæological research in Palestine primarily depends.

Together with the setting up of the Department of Antiquities as a special branch of a British Administration, there was recognized the fact that, at least as regards the historical monuments above and below

* See Père Vincent in *Revue Biblique*, 1919, pp. 530 ff.

ground, the Mandatory Power was but a trustee watching and guarding on behalf of many races and many faiths. This conception finds its practical embodiment in the Archæological Advisory Board, made up of representatives of British, American, French, Italian, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Moslem interests. The Director of Antiquities consults this board with reference to all applications for permits to excavate, the regulation of excavations in the city and district of Jerusalem, the conservation of historical buildings, and any international complications which may (and do) arise from time to time. This Board has so far met frequently, and we understand that its recommendations and decisions have been in all cases unanimous, and have been invariably adopted by the administration.

Far and away the most important step was the passing of the Antiquities Ordinance of 1920 (published in the *Official Gazette* of October 15th, 1920). This Ordinance is worth dwelling on at some length. Three features stand out which show clearly the fundamental differences between past and present. The Act effectively checks unauthorized handling and procuring of antiquities; it lays down the principle that the monuments and antiquities of Palestine belong to Palestine and to Palestinians; and it affords practical encouragement and help to all scientific workers of guaranteed competence.

We see now that excavations in the past have often assumed the character of the crudest filibustering expeditions. Archæological work was, until very recent times, conducted simply and solely for the sake of objects—inscriptions, ornaments, and the like—turned up by the spade. The value and success of an excavation were measured in terms of the intrinsic or sentimental value of the matter discovered; the objects were an end in themselves; always the ultimate purpose was the enrichment of some foreign private or public collection of antiquities. Consequently a market

gardener was as adequate for the work of excavation as a dozen professors of archæology. The modern standpoint is almost diametrically opposite; the modern archæologist weeps tears of rage at the chances lost and the damage done by what he would regard as the vicious hooliganism of his predecessors, who, in their rummaging around for inscriptions, wrecked irretrievably priceless sites and architectural remains, and who, by failing to record details of stratification or preserve traces of buildings, have obliterated whole pages of history.

The essence of archæology, according to the mind of the present-day archæologist, is not the object found, but the precise spot and the precise level, the precise condition and the precise surroundings, in which it is found. The object, however interesting and rare in itself, is either entirely worthless or next to worthless if its provenance is unknown or doubtful. You can buy Canaanitish, Hebrew, Jewish, and Hellenic earthenware at a few piastres the rotl; and in its plucked condition it is not worth more. But the discovery of such articles *in situ* is of incalculable value in the eyes of the expert, may add chapters to our knowledge of ancient history, and to the present-day excavator outweighs months of discomfort and bouts of malaria, and justifies the outlay of hundreds of pounds of his scanty and hardly-gotten funds.

Unlicensed sale of antiquities means unsupervised digging for them, and encourages the amateur, the dealer, and the innocent fellah to tamper with historic tells, and do untold mischief, all with the object of finding a coin or a piece of sculpture which, with its provenance and circumstances unknown, is of interest to none but the most unsophisticated of collectors. Whether it is possible to check this altogether may be doubtful, but the Department of Antiquities is making an heroic effort to familiarize the mukhtars and sheikhs of the country with the terms of the Act, and the real value of historic sites, and wherein lies the importance

of an antique. The Ordinance bristles with a formidable array of pains and penalties to be inflicted on any who may sell or acquire antiquities without the knowledge and sanction of the department, or who may fail to deposit with the department a detailed list of the contents of his private collection of antiques; there is also legislation directed against what was once a flourishing Palestinian handicraft—the manufacture of forged antiquities.

Furthermore, although, as we have already seen, valuable work was possible in Turkish times, there is now a very marked difference. Formerly, there was no effective machinery which could check the inexpert and make smooth the way of an important, scientific, highly equipped expedition. There was always a long, expensive, and irritating delay, while Consuls sought to extract a firman from the Porte. There is a case on record, not many years ago, where the would-be excavator hung around in Constantinople for two years, and only the presence of his country's navy enabled him at last to extract the desired permit. Now, however, it is simply a routine matter of guaranteeing to the department in Palestine that the society desiring to carry out work possesses the necessary equipment, and is employing a competent archæologist of experience as supervisor of the excavations; and the business proceeds quickly and smoothly.*

The department reserves to itself an effective control and supervision of all work carried on, and ensures that the results become public knowledge at an early date, and that the Museum of Palestine shall have first claim on finds of importance. Thus every permit to excavate carries with it the following conditions:

“The excavator shall furnish to the department as soon as possible after discovery a detailed list of all antiquities found.

* In the preceding four paragraphs the writer has drawn from an article contributed by him to the *Palestine Weekly* of July 1st, 1921.

“That all objects discovered in the course of the excavation are open to inspection by the department.

“That the excavation shall at all times be open to the inspection of the officers of the department.

“That any person or persons specially authorized by the Director of Antiquities may, at such hours as may be arranged, enter upon and view the excavations.

“That the excavator shall, within four months of the conclusion of the season’s digging, supply in a form suitable for publication, either by the department or in one of the recognized archæological periodicals, a summary report of the main results of his work.

“That the society, institution, or individual to whom the permit is granted shall produce, within a period of two years, an adequate scientific publication of the results of excavation.

“The Director of Antiquities shall, after the close of the excavations, choose such objects from among those found as are in his opinion needed for the scientific completeness of the Palestine Museum. He shall then make a fair division of all the other objects between the museum and the person to whom the permit to excavate was granted, aiming as far as possible at giving such a person a representative share of the whole result of the excavation.

“Until the division is made, all antiquities found shall be deemed the property of the Government.”

We may say that almost everything possible in the way of perfecting the machinery and making Palestine “safe for archæology” has been attempted; how smoothly and successfully the machinery will run time alone will prove. The Palestine Government has shown its goodwill and acknowledged its respon-

sibility; whether it will also provide financial support adequate to the occasion is more doubtful. As with certain other internal affairs in the Holy Land, there is ever the temptation to rely on outside eleemosynary support. Certainly on such an expensive and (from the commercial standpoint) non-productive work as actual excavation we cannot expect the Government to expend any of the scanty Palestinian revenue; its duty is done, and well done, if it undertakes the maintenance of a staff sufficient to carry out the Antiquities Ordinance in its rôle of the restrictive, protective, advisory, and supervising agent in archæological activity. But the bare maintenance of this enabling machinery is a considerable undertaking, and the allowance in the Budget for the year 1922-1923 (£E. 5,567) is far too small for the purpose, if we bear in mind what is essential in the way of specialist officials, premises, office personnel, guards at the various excavation centres up and down the country, local museums, and, above all, the upkeep of the central Palestine Museum. The Government was able to escape a heavy outlay at the beginning, owing to the presence of the British Archæological School, whose personnel and premises it utilized from the outset; but it will be in the last degree unwise if the administration, in an attempt to save a few thousands of pounds, weakens its own power of control and its sense of ultimate responsibility for the care and encouragement of archæological research.

Turning to the non-official archæological societies which now exist in Palestine, we again see a hopeful prospect. The Palestine Exploration Fund, though with reduced funds, can confidently be expected to continue its labours. The *École Biblique de S. Étienne*, the strongest learned society in Jerusalem in manpower, has now become the official French School of Archæology. It has never been able itself to undertake excavations except on a small scale, but its various specialists, with their unrivalled acquaintance with

Palestinian archæology, form an expert body of advisers to which every worker in the field is prompt to appeal. The American School of Archæology has started on a new lease of life; it is beginning excavation work proper at Tell el-Ful (? the Biblical Gibeah of Saul), and is now building for itself adequate premises in the academic quarter of Jerusalem. The British School of Archæology finds itself for the moment assuming most of the cares of the Government Department of Antiquities. This has been a happy circumstance for the department, though it has thrown an unfair burden of administrative detail on a body which should be left freer for more purely academic work.

Of special interest is the small beginning which has been made in the direction of a Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. Its aims are "to explore our country in all its details, and to publish information on it." And for this purpose "it desires to unite all those already engaged in the exploration of Palestine by means of lectures and scientific discussions; to establish a library and museum at Jerusalem; to arrange for scientific explorations and excavations, popular lectures, and the publication of a scientific periodical." The society has begun its work in nearly all the directions which it has defined for itself. And although (like most present things Palestinian) it prides itself more on promise than on achievement, its function in the future of research in Palestine is a perfectly clear one, and a most promising and also most essential one. The other archæological societies, with their greater resources, will normally attempt the more important sites, which are on the whole not of specifically Jewish interest. We could not, for example, expect one of the highly equipped, wealthy American expeditions to concern itself with an ancient synagogue at Tiberias when such sites as Beisan remained unfinished. But the recent discoveries by Dr. Nahum Slousch, who carried out small excavations near Tiberias on behalf of this Jewish Archæological Society,

show how fruitful such a side-line—as it is from the general standpoint—can become when tackled with the specialized knowledge of a particular period which interests only Jewish scholars. Notable, too, is the first number of the periodical, *Kovetz*, published by this society. It forms one of a little band of Hebrew volumes which have appeared within the last two years, all presenting the results of archæological and topographical research in Palestine for the sake of Hebrew readers.* This society gives every hope of removing some day the reproach which many Jews must have felt so keenly—that where so much self-sacrificing labour has been devoted to the study of the past of the land of Israel, it was not the Jew who had proved himself foremost in the field.

* Together with this first number of the periodical publications of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, we would call the attention of Hebrew readers interested in the subject to “Artzenu” (“Our Land”)—a guide to Jerusalem and its environs—by H. A. Zuta and L. Sukenik; “Eretz Yisrael,” by Isaiah Press; and, above all, “Eretz Yisrael,” by Dr. Samuel Klein, a popular but learned treatment of Palestinian topography.

THE HOLY PLACES

BY THE HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, M.P.*

JERUSALEM is venerated by Jews, not merely because it was the political and cultural capital of Palestine when Palestine was a Jewish national State, but because it was, and is still, the terrestrial centre of their national faith. It contains the site and remains of the Temple, and the peculiar sanctity of Mount Zion is attested by psalmists, prophets, and Rabbinical teaching.

Christians of all denominations the world over regard Palestine as the Holy Land, the country where Jesus was born, lived, taught, died, and rose from the dead. Consequently, the scenes of His birth at Bethlehem, of His early life at Nazareth, of His mission, sufferings, and resurrection at Jerusalem, arouse and inspire devotion in the hearts of all members of Christian societies. The majority of the Christian sacred sites were fixed by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, in the reign of that Emperor.

Mohammedans regard Jerusalem as the third holiest city in the world, only surpassed by Mecca and Medina. According to their traditions, the Kaaba at Mecca will be transferred to Mount Zion at the Day of Judgment and the judgment of quick and dead will take place between the Temple area and the Mount of Olives. Mohammed is reputed to have been translated to heaven on his miraculous steed El-Burak from the Holy Rock at Jerusalem, which will be God's throne at the Day of

* This article on "The Holy Places" was written in December, 1920.

Judgment. Legend identifies this rock with the site of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, with the altar of burnt offerings in Solomon's and subsequent Temples, and with events in the life of both Christ and Mohammed.

The tombs of the Jewish patriarchs and prophets, who were accepted by Islam through the teachings of the Koran, are regarded by Mohammedans with great devotion, notably the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron, where lie the remains of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebecca, Joseph, and Leah. The tomb of Rachel, by the roadside near Bethlehem, is revered both by Jews and Mohammedans. Mosques have grown up on the reputed tombs of Moses (Nebi Moussa) and Samuel (Nebi Samwil), and form the centre of Mohammedan pilgrimages and ceremonies.

Cults and ceremonies in connection with Holy Places date back to man's first searchings after religious expression. They still answer to some aspects of his religious needs. In early Biblical times we read of the groves and high places, and at all times and in all religions the peculiar sanctity and religious association of particular spots has been recognized. Pilgrimage has always been regarded as a pre-eminent religious exercise by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and by Islam. Every year Christian and Mohammedan pilgrims from many lands have made and make their way to the shrines of Palestine with devotion and sacrifice.

Chief among Jewish Holy Places is the "Wailing Wall." This wall represents practically the only remaining masonry of Herod's Temple, and at this wall daily, and especially on Sabbath evenings, Orthodox Jews assemble to pray and to lament. The following two Litanies are chanted, and the fervour of the worshippers is often accompanied by copious and very genuine tears:

Leader : For the palace that lies desolate—*Response* : We sit in solitude and mourn."

L. : For the Temple that is destroyed—*R.* : We sit, etc.

- L.* : For the walls that are overthrown—*R.* : We sit, etc.
L. : For our majesty that is departed—*R.* : We sit, etc.
L. : For our great men who lie dead—*R.* : We sit, etc.
L. : For our precious stones that are burned—*R.* : We sit, etc.
L. : For the priests that have stumbled—*R.* : We sit, etc.
L. : For our kings who have despised Him—*R.* : We sit, etc.

Another antiphony is as follows :

Leader : We pray Thee to have mercy on Zion—*Response* : Gather the children of Jerusalem.

L. : Haste, haste, Redeemer of Zion—*R.* : Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.

L. : May beauty and majesty surround Zion—*R.* : Ah ! turn Thyself mercifully to Jerusalem.

L. : May the kingdom soon return to Zion—*R.* : Comfort those who mourn over Jerusalem.

L. : May peace and joy abide with Zion—*R.* : And the branch (of Jesse) spring up at Jerusalem.

The space in front of the Wailing Wall, where the worshippers stand, is Mohammedan property, belonging to a religious or charitable foundation (*Wakf*) devoted to the maintenance of Mogrebin (Moroccan) Moslem pilgrims, but the right of the Jews to use it has been established by long usage. Questions have been raised from time to time regarding the acquisition of the spot by the Jews and the enlargement of the space, but so far local and religious differences have stood in the way of the accomplishment of this object.

The Temple area has become the principal Mohammedan Holy Place in Palestine. In the centre on the raised platform stands the exquisitely beautiful Kubbet-es-Sakhra (Dome of the Rock), commonly but erroneously called the Mosque of Omar after the Caliph, who was the first Mohammedan conqueror of the city in A.D. 637. The present structure dates from A.D. 691, and many subsequent restorations have left the original design practically unaltered. The building, octagonal without and circular within, is adorned with marbles and superb ninth-century mosaics and inscriptions. The exterior is covered with coloured tiles of various dates, but principally of the sixteenth century. It is a shrine built to cover the Holy Rock, and therefore

not a true mosque, as its principal *raison d'être* is its own inherent sanctity. The Crusaders took the building for the original Temple of Solomon, and the order of the "Knights Templar" founded in connection with it reproduced its circular design in their churches in Europe—*e.g.*, the Temple Church in London.

At the southern end of the Temple area is another mosque of special sanctity, the "Akse"—meaning the "most distant"—this being, according to the seventeenth surah of the Koran, the most distant shrine from Mecca to which the Prophet Mohammed was brought by God. The present building was originally the Christian basilica erected by the Emperor Justinian in honour of the Virgin Mary. It was converted by the Caliph Omar into a mosque. As an example of the frequent apparent confusion of faiths in Palestine, a spot in the sanctuary of this mosque, regarded by the Mohammedan custodians with special veneration, is a stone bearing the reputed footprint of "Nebi Isa" (Jesus Christ), which is first recorded in the account of one of the earliest Christian pilgrims, Antonie of Piacenza.

An even more remarkable association of this kind occurs on the site of the ascension of Christ on the Mount of Olives. Constantine erected a circular roofless building on the traditional spot in about A.D. 330. Subsequently a chapel was erected, and this was converted by the Moslems into a mosque, which they still retain and regard as a sacred spot; but they permit Christians to celebrate the Sacrament in it on certain days.

Another important joint site is "En-Nebi-Daud," near the south-west corner of the city. The subterranean chambers of this building contain, according to Moslem and some Jewish traditions, the tomb of King David, while the first floor contains the cœnaculum, or chamber, where Christ partook of the Last Supper and instituted the Sacrament. The present building dates from the fourteenth century, having

been reconstructed by the Franciscans, but the latter were supplanted by the Mohammedans in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, and entrance has frequently been refused by them to Christians to the upper, and to Jews to the lower portions of this dual shrine.

The principal Christian Holy Place is, of course, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the north-west quarter of the city. This church, or, rather, congeries of several churches, contains both the tomb and the reputed site of Calvary, as well as the traditional scene of many events connected with the Passion and Resurrection. The first recorded church on the present site is that erected by order of the Emperor Constantine and consecrated in the year A.D. 336, since which date it has always been regarded as the central church of Christendom.

The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre and the great rotunda under which it stands were both considerably reconstructed after the disastrous fire in 1810. The chapel containing the actual tomb is shared by the Latins (Franciscans), Orthodox (Greeks), Armenians, and Copts. Of the forty-three lamps hanging from the ceiling of the shrine, the last named have four and the others thirteen each. Immediately behind the sepulchre is another small chapel, which has been in the exclusive possession of the Copts since the sixteenth century. Pilgrims and worshippers are usually taken into the Chapel of the Sepulchre either by a Greek monk or by a Franciscan Friar. Latin (Catholic) rights in the Holy Places are mainly entrusted to the Franciscans, and the head of this Order in Palestine is styled the "Custode della terra Santa," the Latin Patriarchate having only comparatively recently (in the nineteenth century) been revived by the Pope. After the Crusaders had lost all hold on Palestine, King Robert of Naples, about the year A.D. 1330, purchased from the Mameluke Sultan of Cairo (in whose dominions Palestine then lay) extensive rights of guardianship and maintenance over Christian

Holy Places in Palestine, which rights he handed over in perpetuity to the Franciscan Order. The Friars, who are mostly Italians, have ever since performed these functions and conducted the Catholic rites.

Orthodox rights, though considerably interrupted during the Latin Kingdom of the Crusades, trace back to the days of the Schism, when Rome and Constantinople divided the Christian world as well as the heritage of the Cæsars. The various Orthodox Churches, commonly lumped together under the name "Greek," are the many Churches in full communion with each other who acknowledge the authority of one of the four chief Patriarchates—namely, (1) Constantinople, (2) Alexandria, (3) Antioch, and (4) Jerusalem. All the true orthodox Churches reject the claim of the Bishop of Rome to Papal sovereignty over the Church, have a Greek instead of a Latin liturgy, and reject the various accretions of dogma that have grown up in the Roman Church since the five first Œcumenical Councils of the Church. Of the four Patriarchates, that of Constantinople ranks as *primus inter pares*. The national Churches of Russia, Greece, Serbia, Rumania, etc., all derive from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Coptic, Abyssinian, Jacobite or Syriac, Nestorian or Chaldean, Armenian or Gregorian Churches, have all at one time or another separated off from one of the four Orthodox Patriarchates, and have come to be regarded as heretical by Orthodox as well as by Catholics. From many of the Orthodox Churches, and from practically all of the heretical Churches, there have in comparatively recent centuries seceded branches which, while retaining many of their former constitutions, rites, and local characteristics, have acknowledged the general supremacy of the Pope, and have thereby become "Uniat" Churches. Notable among these in Syria and Palestine are the Maronite and Melchite Churches, the former of which has become the special protégé of France.

An example of this national and doctrinal subdivision

of Eastern Christianity will serve to show the complications that have arisen and persist in connection with the Holy Places. From the Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (one of the four historic Primates, as it were) depends the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Mount Sinai, under the present Archbishop Porphyrios (a Greek formerly resident in Paris), who acted in 1918 as Patriarch of Jerusalem during the exile of the rightful Patriarch. From this same Patriarchate of Alexandria there broke off early in Christian history the heretical Coptic Church of Egypt. From the Coptic Church has sprung the autocephalous Church of Abyssinia under its own Primate (the "Abuna"), and more recently a secession of Copts has formed a Coptic Uniat Church, which has recognized the general supremacy of Rome.

Hence, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in addition to chapels and joint rights equally enjoyed by all the Orthodox Churches, there are separate rights belonging to the Copts and the Abyssinians. The latter are practically limited to a small monastery of their own on the roof of St. Helena's Chapel, the chapel below belonging mainly, if not entirely, to the Armenians (Gregorians), who are again a separate Church. Some of the sites in the church have frequently changed hands, and their possession is still liable to be disputed. For instance, the "Stone of Unction," near the main entrance to the church, belonged exclusively to the Copts in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century it passed to the Georgians, from whom the Catholics purchased the right to burn lamps over it and to hold services round it. With the absorption of Georgia by Russia, the right of possession passed to Russia. Now Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Copts are all entitled to burn their lamps, and so forth.

Apart from these denominational questions which arise in connection with the Holy Places, there are political and international problems as well. In particular, France obtained from time to time, after

the conquest of Palestine by Turkey in A.D. 1517, various rights from the Sultan of Turkey, under what were known as the Capitulations, whereby France claimed the Protectorate over Latin (Catholic) Christians and Uniates in the Sultan's Empire. These Capitulations were denounced by Turkey in 1914, and Palestine has ceased to be part of the Sultan of Turkey's Empire; but it is generally understood that France still claims certain rights in general, and in particular in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which she has hitherto enjoyed. Even after the Allied occupation, the French representative (M. Picot) was in 1918 accorded the rights formerly enjoyed by France, but not those of Italy, Spain, or other Catholic countries, at the Easter ceremonies. If France laid claim to certain Latin rights and interests in the Christian Holy Places before the war, Russia followed her example in respect of Orthodox rights, and now that the Russian Government seems unlikely to take any further interest, the Athens Government has been giving attention to the secular and political aspect of ecclesiastical rights or interests in the Holy Places.

Among the Christian clergy, residents, and pilgrims of Jerusalem will be found nationals of anything up to twenty different Christian States, each enjoying the protection of their Consul, and before 1914 extensive special rights under the Turkish Capitulations. Individual churches have become in certain cases national property. For instance, the Church of St. Anne, in the grounds of which is the probable site of the Pool of Bethesda, is the reputed home of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary, and has been revered as such since the sixth century. The site is now occupied by a fine Gothic church, built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, and converted at the reconquest by Saladin into a Moslem school. This was presented by the Sultan of Turkey to the Emperor Napoleon III. in 1856, in gratitude for French assistance in the Crimean War. Napoleon reconverted it

into a church. In 1870 it became French national property, and it is now served by French White Fathers.

The Garden of Gethsemane is now in the exclusive possession of the Franciscans, although it once contained several churches. The tradition of the present site is clearly recorded since the fourth century, and it tallies with the Gospel narrative. But of all the Christian Holy Places, probably that which has the oldest and most clearly authenticated tradition is the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The church as it stands to-day still presents all the main features and magnificent austerity of an early Christian basilica. In its main lines it is the church of the fourth century, which several subsequent restorations have failed to alter materially. The towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth are almost entirely inhabited by Christians, and in both cases it may be said that from the Christian point of view these two towns form Holy Places, apart altogether from the particular shrines which they contain. Nazareth contains the scene of the Annunciation, Mary's well, the site of the Casa Santa (transferred, according to Catholic doctrine, to Loretto in Italy), and the ancient synagogue where Jesus taught.

It is, of course, impossible to give a complete catalogue of all the lesser Holy Places up and down Palestine. Practically every event in Old and New Testament history has been provided for, and its site identified. Legends of Prophets, Rabbis, Saints, Jew and Moslem, as well as Christian, have added to an already numerous list. Jewish sentiment is chiefly associated with Jerusalem, Safed, and Tiberias; Christian with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem; Moslem with Jerusalem, Hebron, and Nablus. The last named has an unenviable reputation for religious fanaticism, and its principal mosques, which are converted early Christian churches, are carefully guarded from entry by infidel Christian or Jew. In the south-west part of the town, however, still dwells the small remnant of the

Samaritans, who cling tenaciously to their worship on the neighbouring Holy Hill of Mount Gerizim. Reduced to less than 200 souls, they still have their High Priest, who guards the famous "Torah," which is almost certainly the oldest extant copy of the Pentateuch.

Acre is fast becoming the religious centre of the "Bahai," whose faith seems to be on the increase, not only in the East, but also in the West.

There is a phrase in Lord Balfour's Introduction to Mr. Sokolow's "History of Zionism" which deserves quoting in connection with the problem of the "Holy Places." "All historic religions," he writes, "rouse feelings which cluster round the places made memorable by the words and deeds, the lives and deaths, of those who brought them into being." It will be the duty of the Government of Palestine and of the Mandatory Power to respect these feelings, and to ensure that Palestine may be "a house of prayer for all nations." The world and the cause of religion itself in its widest sense of all who seek earnestly and humbly after God and His righteousness have suffered all too much from intolerance and persecution. The conscience of mankind demands that in the new Palestine the religious feelings of the followers of all faiths should be respected. It was in accordance with this sentiment that the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917, confirmed at the San Remo Conference and embodied in the terms of the Mandate conferred upon Great Britain, includes the phrase: "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." But Article 14 of the Mandate has gone even further, and lays down that "a special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define, and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the compo-

sition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League."

This Special Commission has not yet come into being.* The Chairmanship is open to nationals of any nation, and on the Commission Jew and Moslem will be represented, as well as the various Christian Churches and Orders who have special interests in various Holy Places. Until this Commission has been formed, the *status quo ante bellum* will be strictly observed. The Commission will be required to define and catalogue the Holy Places, to investigate claims to guardianship and rights of worship, and to regulate the due enjoyment of such claims and rights. Their task will not be an easy one, and much will depend upon the atmosphere in which their work will have to be conducted. If the atmosphere is one of devout and neutral goodwill among nations as well as among creeds, they should be able to remove what has been a reproach to Palestine.

The interposition of this international and inter-denominational Commission, while easing the heavy

* The Holy Places Commission which is provided for by Article 14 of the Mandate for Palestine was the subject of much discussion during the period preceding the confirmation of the Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations. Various objections to the original draft were raised by the Vatican in a letter addressed by the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Secretary General of the League on May 15, 1922. The British note in reply is printed in Command Paper 1708 (Misc. No. 4), 1922. In the Mandate, as finally confirmed by the Council of the League on July 24, 1922, Article 14 reads as follows: "A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define, and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council." At the moment of writing (May, 1923) the Commission still remains to be constituted, and pending its constitution the *status quo* will continue to be maintained.

responsibility of the Government of Palestine and of the Mandatory Power, cannot hope to absolve them altogether of their task. The world will demand from them, as primarily responsible for order and administration, the respect for and due maintenance of all religious interests, including the proper safety and conduct of pilgrimages, and various rites and festivals. The Easter ceremonies in Jerusalem, the Nebi-Moussa ceremony, and the like, have frequently in the past been the occasion for outbursts of religious fanaticism and even bloodshed. Such disgrace must be prevented in the future, and steps will have to be taken for this purpose by the Government of Palestine. The existence of the permanent Special Commission thus constituted will assist the Government of Palestine to discharge its obligations, but the executive action will lie with the latter. The reports of the Special Commission, together with the report of the Government of Palestine on the action taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Special Commission, will be forwarded annually through the Mandatory Power to the League of Nations, and these reports will, no doubt, be reviewed annually by the Council of the League, advised by the permanent Mandates Commission.

It should be added that many of the Holy Places of Palestine, in addition to their religious interest and sanctity, are also artistic monuments of the greatest importance. The Mosque of Omar is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings of the world and unique in interest to the student of the history of architecture. The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem is almost the finest remaining example of a fourth-century basilica. Some of the Crusaders' buildings, such as the Church of Abu Gosh, are of the greatest importance in the history of art. It is essential, therefore, that the artistic and historical aspect of the care of Holy Places should be borne in mind in the New Palestine.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF PALESTINE

By S. TOLKOWSKY (AGRICULTURAL ENGINEER, JAFFA).

SOME millions of years ago the area which is occupied to-day, not only by the Mediterranean Sea, but also by the countries bordering it in Southern Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia, was covered by one great sea. The action of its waves had torn away from its shores morsels of rock, and had tossed them to and fro until they were ground into very fine particles, which, after having been for some time held in suspension by the waters, had at last sunk down to the sea-bottom, where they had been deposited in horizontal layers. The chemical nature of the particles thus deposited had varied at different periods: at times they had been siliceous, at times calcareous. Continued for hundreds of thousands of years, this process of sedimentation had given rise to layers reaching in some cases a thickness of several thousand feet; and under the pressure, continued over so long a period, of the enormous masses of water towering above them, these layers of sediment had been compressed into horizontal strata of rock. Thus was the bottom of the greater Mediterranean Sea of prehistoric times constituted by a succession of horizontal strata in the following order (starting from the oldest and proceeding upwards): hard limestone, soft chalk containing occasional thin beds of flints, porous calcareous sandstone, and soft marine deposits.

At a later age, corresponding to the period called by geologists the Miocene, the gradual cooling down and resulting contraction of the globe led to what Professor Huntington describes as "a vast warping and uplifting of the earth's crust": some parts were raised, others

were lowered, in relation to the level of the sea. Amongst the parts that were raised, some were elevated high enough to emerge above the waters. Thus was formed, from the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea down to the peninsula of Sinai, an arch-shaped plateau, steep towards the east. "At the north the movement amounted to 6,000 or 8,000 feet. In the centre it was greater, so that Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Hermon rise 9,000 or 10,000 feet above the Mediterranean. Farther south the uplift diminished to only 3,000 or 4,000 feet in Judea and less in the Negeb. Along the top of this broad, flat ridge of solid rock a remarkable dislocation occurred, a subsidence of the centre of the arch from end to end. In the north a narrow belt was bent sharply down as one might bend a sheet of paper, forming the valley of the Orontes and the Bkaa, 5,000 feet or more below the heights on either side. Farther south in Palestine the bending continued, but in the latitude of Jerusalem it took the form of a fracture on one or both sides, and the central wedge dropped 6,000 feet to form the Ghor,* the deep depression in which lies the Dead Sea. These remarkable movements divided Palestine into three main strips running north and south. The most important strip is the western highland, or plateau, with a moderately steep slope on the west, a very steep descent on the east, and a flat top. Eastward lies the Jordan-Arabah depression, or Ghor, steep on either side, flat on the bottom, below sea-level throughout practically all Palestine—a hot and most inhospitable rift in the earth's crust. Beyond it a sharp ascent of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet leads up to the third strip, the eastern highland, broad and flat, and sloping gently away from Palestine to the Syrian desert."†

The physical features so far described were the results of lines of crustal movement running north and south.

* Arabic = "hollow."

† Ellsworth Huntington: "Palestine and its Transformation" (1911), pp. 23 and 24.

There were, however, other movements which took place on lines running west and east, or north-west and south-east. Between Hebron and Beersheba the earth's crust was bent in such a way that the region to the south, called the Negeb, was depressed about 2,000 feet below the plateau of Judea. Judea and Moab remained flat, unbroken plateaus, but Samaria and Gilead were subjected to a series of depressions by which they were intersected by a number of valleys running east and west. Between these two regions on the one hand, and Galilee and Jaulan together with Hauran on the other, a strip of territory dropped down, resulting in the formation of a depression, narrow in the east, much wider in the centre, and narrow again in the extreme west near the sea; this is the depression occupied by the valley of the Yarmuk, the vale of Jezreel, and the plain of Esdraelon. Lower Galilee in its turn was intersected by a number of valleys running east and west; and a last break from west to east, through which flows to-day the lower part of the course of the Litany River, separated Upper Galilee from the Lebanons and furnished Palestine with its natural boundary in the north.

This was not all. A further movement in the earth's crust resulted in a huge oscillation, which affected the whole length of Palestine, but chiefly its western part, and had the plain of Esdraelon for its axis. To the north of this axis the country slightly dipped, to the south it was further raised. The result was that in the north the sea once again encroached upon the land, coming up to the base of the mountains, penetrating into the mouths of the valleys, and thus giving its present shape to the irregular coast-line of Phœnicia, with its headlands and creeks, and with its natural harbours at Haifa, Acre, Tyre, and Sidon. South of Carmel, on the contrary, the raising of the country made a portion of the sea-bed dry land; the maritime plains of Sharon and Philistia, thus formed, were smooth and devoid of marked differences in level, and

their coast accordingly forms a straight line, with neither promontories nor bays, and with no natural harbour. Almost the only irregularity on this coast-line is represented by cliffs, like those of Jaffa, which are merely the remainders of harder rocks which the sea encountered and was not able to destroy in its work of gradual erosion of the shore. Moreover, as the amplitude of the oscillation was the greater the further away the regions concerned lay from the axis of the whole movement, the maritime plain became much wider in its southern than in its northern part; and so we find that between the promontory of Carmel and the sea there is hardly sufficient space for a carriage road, whereas in the neighbourhood of Jaffa the plain has a width of about fifteen miles, and still further south, at the latitude of Gaza, it reaches about twenty miles.

Out of the rough profile of Palestine as produced by the crustal movements described so far, climatic and at a later period human factors were to carve the physical features of the country as they exist to-day.

The cooling down of the globe, which had given rise to contractions of the earth's crust, also led to a marked change in the climate. The mean annual temperature of Palestine, which is to-day about 65° , was probably at that time only about 45° , corresponding to present conditions in England. Mounts Lebanon and Hermon were covered with perennial snows and glaciers, and the amount of rainfall was considerably greater than to-day. Thanks to this considerable rainfall, and to the enormous quantities of water derived from the melting of the snows on Lebanon and Hermon, the Jordan and its affluents were much mightier streams than they are now. Evaporation, at the then prevailing low temperature, was much less active than at present. Hence, as the Jordan-Arabah Valley was land-locked everywhere and had no outlet, the level of the waters gradually rose, till the whole valley, from the base of Mount Hermon to the valley of the Arabah, formed one large lake over 200 miles long and over 2,000 feet

deep, situated about 200 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

But this period of comparatively low temperature came to an end. The climate became warmer and drier, the glaciers and perennial snows disappeared from Lebanon and Hermon except in a few isolated places, and the quantity of water which they supplied to the Jordan became less and less. The amount of rainfall also decreased. On the other hand, thanks to the rising temperature and the diminishing moisture of the air, evaporation became much more active. As a result of all these circumstances acting together, the surface of the great lake gradually fell away. But the rise in the temperature and in the degree of dryness of the air did not proceed according to a uniformly regular curve. What happened was that for considerable periods at a time conditions remained stationary; then a sudden increase in temperature and concomitant reduction in moisture of the air would take place; this would be followed again by a period of stability, after which a new "pulsation" (to use Huntington's word) would occur. Thus, instead of finding a uniform decrease in the level of the great valley-lake, we have to deal, in fact, with a number of successive levels, of which each was lower than the preceding one. The banks corresponding to these successive levels are still visible in the series of abrupt natural terraces which form the chief features of both the eastern and western slopes of the Jordan and Dead Sea Valley as it exists to-day.

While this reduction of the valley-lake was proceeding, parts of its waters, penetrating through the fissures which crustal movements had produced along the sides of the great depression, seem to have found their way into the interior of the globe. Coming into contact with the molten minerals existing there at very high temperatures, the water was transformed into vapour, which, accumulating in great quantities and under enormous pressure, led from time to time to volcanic outbursts, resulting in crustal fractures,

through which were poured out over the surface of the country more or less considerable sheets of basaltic lava. These volcanic activities took place chiefly in the eastern part of the Galilean highlands, and, on a much larger scale, in Jaulan and in the Hauran; minor volcanic outbreaks occurred in Moab. One such lava stream, which had poured down into the Jordan Valley from the volcano of Jebel Jermak in Upper Galilee, formed a dam, behind which the Jordan was checked to form the waters of Merom, the present lake of Huleh. At first the lake was far larger than to-day; but little by little, thanks to the deposit of silt by the Jordan, the northern part of the lake has been converted into a marsh. Further south, other lava flows, smaller than those which led to the formation of Lake Huleh, poured down into the Jordan Valley from Southern Galilee, and down the valley of the Yarmuk, and gave rise to a second dam, behind which the Sea of Galilee was formed.

The head streams which give rise to the Jordan come down from Mount Hermon. Between Banias and Tell-el-Kadi they have cut for themselves a channel under a lava stream descending from Hermon into the plain of Huleh, and issue forth again in large fountains under the name of "Sources of the Jordan." Lake Huleh is to-day a shallow lagoon four miles long and about three miles wide; its surface lies 7 feet above sea-level. From Lake Huleh to the Sea of Tiberias the Jordan runs for twelve miles along a channel often bounded by walls of basaltic rock; its total fall over this distance is 689 feet, which means an average fall of 57 feet per mile. The surface of the Sea of Tiberias lies 682 feet below sea-level. Its shape is roughly that of a harp. Its length from north to south is about thirteen miles, and it is about seven miles across in its widest part. During the winter season the surface rises more than 6 feet. Its waters have always been famous for their abundance of fish. From the Sea of Tiberias to the Dead Sea the Jordan flows a tortuous

course of sixty miles, and has a total fall of 610 feet, which gives an average fall of 10·16 feet per mile. On leaving the Sea of Tiberias the waters of the Jordan are clear; but as it proceeds, the river washes soft alluvial banks of silt and sand, and becomes turgid; its lower course is heavily loaded with mud. Owing to the melting of snows in the Lebanon and on Mount Hermon, the river overflows its banks during February and March; it is then broad and deep, but during summer it is often fordable. The waters are lined with brakes of tamarisk, but above the banks on either side the floor of the Ghor is barren, a saline desert waste.

The surface of the Dead Sea is 1,292 feet below sea-level. Its greatest breadth is about ten miles, its length from north to south about forty-seven miles; but this length is apt to vary considerably, owing to the existence, along the southern margin, of a wide expanse of flat shale, generally uncovered by water, but, as is shown by the presence of driftwood, liable to be flooded when the waters reach their highest level at the end of the winter. The Dead Sea occupies the deepest portion of the great Jordan-Arabah depression. On all sides, except towards the north, where it receives the waters of the Jordan, it is enclosed by terraced hills. The present level of the waters is not the lowest at which it ever stood; as a matter of fact, dead palm trees and tamarisks, which stand in the water at some distance from the shore, and which could obviously never have taken root in the saline waters, prove that in the course of the last forty years the level of the sea has risen 6 or 8 feet. The depth of the sea naturally varies with the distance from the shore; at the deepest point it is 1,278 feet. One of the most striking features on the shores of the Dead Sea is the isolated hill called Jebel Usdum, or the Salt Mountain, on the western shore, a remarkable terraced hill which runs along the eastern base of the Judean hills for a distance of seven miles, and has an average breadth of one and a half miles. It is nothing else than a great

mass of lacustrine deposits, partly clay and partly rock-salt, laid down at the time when the Dead Sea still stood at a much higher level than to-day. The Dead Sea owes its name to the total absence in it of any animal life. With the sole exception of the shallow basin south of the tongue-shaped peninsula of *El-Lisan*, which receives the waters of some warm streams, no living beings are known to exist in the sea; and the fish brought down by the Jordan speedily die on entering its waters. The reason of this absence of life is to be found in the high degree of salinity of the waters. The waters of all rivers contain, besides matter in a state of mechanical suspension, carbonate of lime and magnesia and other salts in a state of solution. Lakes, like those of Huleh and Tiberias, which have an outlet, part with their waters and saline ingredients as fast as they receive them, and their waters remain fresh. But in lakes which have no outlet and lose water only by evaporation, the saline ingredients remain behind; and the waters of the lake tend constantly to increase in saltiness until a state of saturation is reached, when the excess of salt is precipitated and forms beds at the bottom of the lake. Thus the bottom of the Dead Sea is formed of blue clay, with cubical crystals of salt and lenticular crystals of gypsum, and it may be inferred that saline and gypseous deposits form the bed to an unknown depth. The quantity of water which is carried off daily from the Dead Sea by evaporation into the air has been estimated by Lartet at 6,500,000 tons at least. The salinity of the Atlantic Ocean is about 6 per cent., and its specific gravity 1.027; the salinity of the Dead Sea is about 24 per cent., and its specific gravity about 1.2. The exact figures, however, differ considerably from one analysis to another; this is due chiefly to differences in the conditions under which the tests were made, period of the year, distance from the shore, depth, etc. As these various circumstances have not always been clearly defined, the results given by different analysts do not easily lend

themselves to the calculation of average figures. The table on p. 124 is a compilation of all published results of analyses, so far as the writer's knowledge goes.

The table on p. 125, taken from E. Hull's "Memoir on the Geology and Geography of Arabia, Petræa, Palestine, and adjoining Districts," p. 121, illustrates differences in the composition of the waters according to the place where the tests were made.

It will be seen that the waters of the Dead Sea are rich, not only in bromides, but also in easily soluble chlorides; their salinity explains their extreme bitterness and buoyancy. The strata surrounding the sea are rich in bituminous matter, and bitumen is often found floating on the water; hence its ancient name of Lake Asphaltitis. Bitumen is petroleum hardened by evaporation and oxidization, and the floating lumps are supposed by some to be derived from petroleum springs in the sea-beds.

Along the shores of the Dead Sea also exist deposits of sulphur, and sulphurous and other hot springs occur over the whole length of the Jordan-Arabah Valley. The most important thermal springs and streams are as follows:*

1. *Hamman* (or *Hammath*), near the western side of the Sea of Tiberias. Temperature, 143.3° F.; water sulphurous.

2. *Yarmuk* Chasm, north of *Um Keis*, or Gadara. Highest temperature, 109° F.; water sulphurous.

3. *Zerka Ma'in* (or Callirrhœ), entering the Dead Sea from the east. Temperature, 130° F.

4. *'Ain Zara*, entering east side of Dead Sea. Temperature of water, 109° F. (43° C.); temperature of air, 75° F.

5. *'Ain Jidi* (Engedi), entering the Dead Sea from the west. Temperature of water, 81° F. (27° C.); that of the air, 73° F.

6. *'Ain el Beida*, south end of *Jebel Usdum*. Temperature of water, 91° F.

* Hull, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Specific gravity	(1) Genth.	(2) Stutzer and Reich.	(3) A. Friedman.		(4) Barneys- Bredin.	(5) Lartet- Tortel (1886).	(6) Marcel (1807).	(6) Gay- Lussac (1818).	(6) Gmelin (1826).	(6) Apjohn (139).
			I.	II.						
..	1-1823	1-1546	1-2241	1-2336	1-1528	1-162	1-211	1-228	1-212	1-153
KCl	% 1-0087	% 1-357	% 1-5208	% 1-4318	% 2-3958	% 0-9630	% Traces	% —	% 1-6738	% 0-852
NaCl	7-5839	8-788	7-8550	7-9325	11-2332	6-0125	10-360	6-95	7-0777	7-839
CaCl ₂	2-8988	2-384	3-6800	3-6903	1-3078	1-0153	3-920	3-98	3-2141	2-438
MgCl ₂	10-1636	8-991	10-0299	10-3125	16-2540	16-0349	10-246	15-31	11-7734	7-370
MgBr ₂	0-5341	0-368	0-5200	0-5212	0-7608	0-5040	—	—	0-4393	0-201
CaSO ₄	0-0901	0-141	0-1460	0-1412	0-3595	—	0-054	Traces	0-0527	0-075
CaCO ₃	0-0042	—	Traces	Traces	0-1540	—	—	—	—	—
Fe ₂ O ₃	0-0087	Traces	—	—	} 0-0231	—	—	—	—	—
Al ₂ O ₃	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	0-2117	—
MnCl ₂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0-0896	—
AlCl ₃	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0-0075	—
NH ₄ Cl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clay	0-0113	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Organic matter	0-0052	—	Traces	Traces	—	—	—	—	—	—
CaO	—	—	—	—	—	0-0780	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0-005
Total	22-3086	22-020	23-7517	24-0295	32-5719	24-6077	24-580	26-24	24-5398	18-780

(1) Dr. A. F. Genth, "Analysen naturlich vorkommender Wasser und von Erde aus Palaestina," *Annalen der Chemie und Pharmacie*, Heidelberg 1859, vol. cx., p. 240.

(2) Prof. Dr. A. Stutzer und Dr. A. Reich, "Die Analyse des Wassers aus dem Toten Meer," *Chemikerzeitung*, 1907, No. 69, p. 845.

(3) A. Friedman, "Neue Chemische Analysen vom Wasser des Toten Meeres," *Chemikerzeitung*, 1912, No. 16, p. 147.

(4) "Dead Sea Water," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1886, p. 53; from *The Times*, November 21, 1885.

(5) M. L. Lartet, "Researches on the Pathogenic Microbes of the Mud of the Dead Sea," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1892, p. 48.

(6) Cited by Robinson, "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea," 1841, vol. ii., pp. 224-225.

TABLE OF ANALYSES OF THE WATERS TAKEN FROM DIFFERENT POINTS OF THE SURFACE OF THE DEAD SEA AND AT DIFFERENT DEPTHS (IN 1,000 PARTS).

<i>Date, 1864.</i>	<i>Points from which the Waters were Taken.</i>	<i>Depth in Feet.</i>	<i>Saline Residue.</i>	<i>Water.</i>	<i>Density.</i>	<i>Chlorine.</i>	<i>Bromine.</i>	<i>Sulphuric Acid.</i>	<i>Carbonic Acid.</i>	<i>Magnesium.</i>	<i>Sodium.</i>	<i>Calcium.</i>	<i>Potassium.</i>
March 20	In sea near Ras Dale	Surface	27.078	972.922	1.0216	17.628	0.167	0.202	Trace	4.197	0.885	2.150	0.474
March 24	Lagune north of Jebel Usdum	"	47.683	952.317	1.0375	29.826	0.835	0.676	"	3.470	7.845	4.481	0.779
April 7	North-east extremity of Dead Sea	"	205.789	794.211	1.1647	126.521	4.568	0.494	"	25.529	22.400	9.094	3.547
March 18	Five miles east of Wady Mrabba	66	204.311	795.689	1.1877	145.543	3.204	0.362	"	29.881	13.113	11.472	3.520
March 15	Five miles east of Ras Feshkah	400	262.648	737.352	1.2225	166.340	4.870	0.451	"	41.306	25.071	3.704	3.990
March 18	Five miles north-east from Wady Mrabba	1,000	278.135	721.865	1.2533	174.985	7.093	0.523	"	51.428	14.300	17.269	4.386

Besides the above, traces of silica, alumina, and iron were also present.

7. 'Ain W. Khubarah, entering the Dead Sea from the west. Temperature of water, 88° to 93° F.; water sulphurous.

8. 'Ain Feshkah, west of Dead Sea. Temperature of water, 82° F.

9. Jericho ('Ain es Sultan), west of the Jordan. Temperature of water, 71° F.

South of the Dead Sea, the valley of the Ghor becomes more and more completely a desert, with sand dunes lying in drifting heaps for miles, and desolate expanses of barren gravel. Thus it remains until its southern end, which forms the Gulf of Akabah.

During the many hundreds of thousands of years which it took the Jordan-Arabah depression to be formed, flooded, and again partly desiccated, what was happening to the other parts of the country?

We have seen how, as the result of a gigantic oscillation in the earth's crust, the sea-bottom, from Mount Carmel southwards, had been lifted out of the deep and had become dry land. But hardly had this occurred, when the waves began to attack the newly formed coast, and to eat back into the land, until they formed the bluffs which in many places lie just behind the beach.

Farther back from the sea much more erosion took place. Little by little the old sea-floor, only slightly consolidated, became decayed. Frost, rain, sun, and the action of plants and animals converted its surface into soil, which was carried away to the sea whenever rain fell. Thus in the end the original plain was carved into a rolling country of low hills, some of them 300 to 400 feet high, rising from broad, flat-floored valleys. Close to the sea, where the speed of the running waters was less, the amount of material removed was not very great. Further inland, however, the land lies higher, the grade of the surface is steeper, and the region has been above sea-level for a much longer time; accordingly, the work of erosion was more intensive and the plain is more dissected. Again, close to the sea-shore, where the plain is nearly hori-

zontal, the speed of the running waters has not been great enough to allow them to carry away all the sand and gravel which covered the surface at the time when the land was first raised out of the sea; thus we find that the soil of the maritime district is still largely composed of beds of sand and gravel. But in the vicinity of many rivers and streams which rise in the mountainous districts farther east, and carry in their waters products of erosion of these mountains, a deposit of rich loam of red-brown colour (called in Arabic *Khamra*) covers considerable areas of the plain, and accounts for its great fertility. This is the case along the banks of the *Nahr el-Hesy*, the *Nahr el-Aujah*, the *Nahr el-Zerka*, and the River Kishon, where over considerable areas luxuriant crops of wheat or barley and maize are grown. The foundation rock, however, consists everywhere of calcareous sandstone, which, being very porous, easily absorbs and keeps great quantities of underground water. It is due to this circumstance that water is to be found at moderate depths practically all over the plain of Sharon and Philistia, and that the town of Jaffa is surrounded by thriving orange-groves. Occasionally the sandstone comes up to the surface in the form of knolls or of low ridges, like that on which is built the old city of Jaffa.

From Acre southwards along the whole length of the sea-shore, the prevailing westerly and south-westerly winds have piled up the sand of the beach into a belt of loose dunes, mostly narrow in the northern parts of the plain, but broad and hard to traverse in the south. Some of these sand dunes rise to 150 feet above the sea, and where no physical barrier opposes them, the winds which blow from the sea make them shift more and more inland, burying lands, gardens, farms, and even villages as they advance. In many places, also, these dunes have filled the mouths of rivers, thus leading to the formation of malaria-breeding swamps and to inundations.

Beyond the maritime plain the country lies higher,

has been above sea-level much longer, and receives more rain; and as its general slope is steeper, the speed of the rivers, as well as that of the rain water running down over the surface, is considerably greater than on the almost level land nearer the sea. Accordingly, much more erosion has taken place. The upper, softer layers of rock have been entirely removed, and the greater speed of the streams has allowed them to cut deeper and narrower valleys than in the plain. Still, compared with the narrow gorges of the central mountain range, these valleys are broad and open, and they are covered with fertile grain fields, through which perennial brooks wind their meandering courses. Thus has been formed, between the Philistine plain and the Judean plateau, a zone of transition formed of low chalky foot-hills running north and south. This zone, called in the Bible "Shephelah" (=low country) extends as a discontinuous range for about forty miles from the Vale of Ajalon, close to the northern boundary of Judea in the latitude of Jaffa, to the latitude of Gaza in the south. Its eastern boundary is marked by a slight break in the earth's crust, which has led to the formation of an inner line of narrow valleys, and has brought up, on their farther side, the layers of hard limestone which underlie the chalk. It is this steep incline of hard limestone which forms the rugged western escarpment of the Judean plateau.

The geological history of the tableland of Judea has been determined by the fact that, after it had been formed as a part of the great arch-shaped plateau, it was not subjected to any further crustal movements of importance, and its strata remained almost horizontal. On account, however, of its higher altitude, it has always received great quantities of rainfall, so that at a comparatively early time of its history the softer chalk which had covered its surface had been destroyed and carried away, leaving exposed the horizontal beds of hard limestone. Rain water, by virtue of the carbonic acid which it holds in solution, has the

power of dissolving limestone, leaving behind nothing but a small quantity of loam, of red-brown colour due to the presence of iron oxide, and the flints which had been enclosed in the beds. Limestone, too, is easily heated by the sun, and just as easily cools down at night; and the rapid succession of expansion and contraction produces innumerable cracks in the rocks, through which the rain water quickly sinks into the deep, dissolving stone. The deep and narrow gorges of the Jordan highlands are simply cracks of this kind, enormously deepened and widened by the torrents of the Pluvial period. Thus, in the interior of the limestone beds there are carved out channels, cavities, and even very large caves, which are one of the characteristic features of the central mountain range. The effect of these cracks, fissures, and channels within the limestone is to drain the mountain of its surface water; and the great depth to which they extend explains why in the districts concerned it is impossible to reach the underground water-level by means of wells of a moderate depth, and why the inhabitants of the mountains are entirely dependent on artificially built cisterns for their water-supply. These conditions are, however, mitigated whenever limestone is covered by vegetation. At the time of the Pluvial period, which saw the flooding of the Jordan-Arabah depression, mountains and slopes were covered with forests and other vegetation, thanks to whose presence considerable quantities of humus (organic residues derived from the activity of roots and from the decay of leaves) were accumulated in the soil. Under rain, humiferous soil acts like a sponge, and absorbs and keeps up to twice its own weight of water. This absorption is facilitated by the presence of trees and grass, which, by means of their leaves, disperse the raindrops and prevent their concentration. Moreover, under the cover of forests, only a small proportion of the rain is evaporated, and the water remains longer on the surface of the soil. For all these reasons the forests of the Pluvial period

led to the absorption and retention of considerable amounts of water in the soil and subsoil; the level of the underground waters was kept high, and the result was the presence of numerous springs and streams of fairly constant volume. But when the Pluvial period had come to an end, and the climate of the country had become dry enough for human settlement to become possible, primeval man invaded the region, coming from the east, and in the beginning living from the chase. In time, however, becoming sedentary, he began to fell the trees for fuel or for timber, or in order to clear the ground for cultivation; pasturing of sheep and goats destroyed all new spontaneous vegetation, and prevented the hills from reforesting themselves. The rains, falling now on unprotected slopes, washed down the soil into the valleys and plains; the summits and the slopes of the hills became denuded of their protective cover of humus, and the moisture disappeared from the surface. Man, naturally inventive, reacted by covering the slopes with artificial terraces composed of low stone walls, behind which the loam resulting from the erosion of the limestone was retained and given a more or less horizontal surface. Thanks to these horizontal terraces of earth, on which fruit trees were planted and small fields were kept in a constant state of cultivation, the downward flow of the rain waters was checked, numerous springs burst into existence, and the flow of the streams became steadier. The result was that the whole region was kept in a comparatively high state of fertility and was able to support a large population. Numerous ruins of villages, mills, wine and oil presses, and ancient wells, at present waterless, are proofs of this past fertility. But the wars of invasion of the beginning of the seventh century mark the doom of the country. The population was decimated, and those who remained were forced to embrace a new religion, of which perhaps the most portentous feature was its fatalistic outlook on life. In the desert, whence the conquerors came,

and where the whole of man's life is nothing but dependence upon the laws and moods of nature, a fatalistic philosophy of life is not only natural, but probably also useful and commendable; but it is distinctly dangerous in a country where man can maintain himself only by keeping some measure of control over the forces of nature and by hourly and daily repairing and building up again what they destroy. The inevitable happened. Cultivation decreased; trees, even fruit trees, began to be destroyed for fuel; the retaining walls of the terraces were allowed to fall into ruins; the rains once again swept away the fertile soil, and together with it the last remains of vegetation. The water, no longer retained at the surface by the protecting cover of humus-containing earth, was enabled either to sink down immediately through the cracks of the rocks into the deep, or to rush down the slopes into the gorges and to transform the once pérennial streams into *wadis*, destructive torrents in winter and dry beds of pebble in summer. The springs consequently disappeared from the mountains and their slopes, and it is only when the water that has sunk down through the cracks is stopped by some impervious layer of rock that it accumulates, cuts out a channel for itself, flows down along the natural slope of the strata, and appears in the form of springs, either at the foot of the mountains or along the sides of some sufficiently deep valley or gorge. Thus at present the most important springs are situated along the base of the plateau, either in the Shephelah, or in the maritime plain, or the plain of Esdraelon, or again in the Jordan depression. To-day the plateau of Judea presents itself as a collection of bare, rounded, limestone hills, slightly tinged with green grass early in the season, but soon entirely bare, except on gentle slopes, where fields of grain occupy the soil. To the west of the watershed, where rain falls abundantly in winter, some permanent vegetation always exists; but to the east, where, as we shall see further on, rain only falls very seldom, cultivated lands have, over a distance

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of forty miles from north of Jericho southwards, and over a breadth which in some places reaches twelve miles, given place to rough and rocky wilderness, intersected by precipitous valleys up to 1,000 feet deep and up to one to two miles wide, which are waterless most of the year.

What has been said about the plateau of Judea applies equally to Moab and Edom beyond Jordan. There, too, the layers of limestone are more or less horizontal, and the effects of the atmospheric agents on the configuration of the country have been similar, with the sole exception that as the rivers drain into the Ghor the valleys and gorges are deeper, and there are more springs and consequently somewhat greater fertility.

But in Samaria and Gilead, situated more to the north, conditions are different. Here, as we have said before, the strata of limestone did not remain in their original horizontal position, but underwent a considerable amount of warping, thanks to which circumstance the natural agents of erosion were able to carve out open valleys of considerable width. In these the streams were able to spread themselves out, their speed was reduced, and a considerable proportion of the loam which the waters carried with them was deposited, giving rise to fertile plains. Gilead is even more fertile than Samaria. Its high elevation, from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, gives it a cooler and moister climate. In winter snow often lies for weeks on the ground; the soil therefore loses the water less speedily, and keeps sufficient moisture to support thin forests of oak—not really forests in the European sense of the word, but merely an open growth of oaks 20 or 30 feet high, which are, however, closely set in some places. Streams are numerous, springs are copious, and there are excellent pastures here and there.

Lower Galilee is, like Samaria, a country of gentle hills and broad valleys; but on the whole it lies at a lower elevation. In two places a downward movement

of a part of the earth's crust has produced depressions, upon whose flat floor water often stands in pools or marshes for months in winter and spring; these depressions are the smooth, swampy, fertile plains of Esdraelon and Asochis or Buttauf. In Galilee the vegetation is more vigorous than in the southern part of Palestine: the grassy hills are often covered with oak scrub or with trees of small size scattered in open order, and in the valleys and plains grain is grown with profit.

Upper Galilee is as distinct from Lower Galilee as Judea is from Samaria; but it belongs to quite a different geological type from Judea. Originally its limestone strata were folded more or less in the same manner as those of Samaria. But when erosion had reduced the surface to a comparatively low level, the Jebel Jermak and other volcanoes poured out, especially over the eastern part of the country, large sheets of lava, which capped hills and valleys with a protective cover of hard black basalt. Thanks to the latter, erosion was not able to proceed rapidly. Upper Galilee is less rugged than Judea, and it stands on the average 1,000 feet higher than Lower Galilee. The rainfall is relatively heavy, and is long retained by the deep volcanic soil and by the underlying impervious basaltic rock, of whose decomposition the soil is the product. Hence springs and streams flow with a steadiness unknown in other parts of Western Palestine, vegetation is abundant, the mountains are dark with open forests of small oaks, the valleys are rich in bushes and thickets, and fertile grainfields cover the gentler slopes. The hills of Galilee run in many places to the coast, and form headlands such as the "Ladder of Tyre"; elsewhere they are separated from the sea by small plains, the largest of which is that of Acre. There is no maritime plain like that of Sharon or Philistia.

East of the lake of Tiberias there stretches the volcanic plateau of Jaulan, dominated by extinct cones and craters, from which powerful streams of lava have

been poured out at various times over the country and down into the Jordan Valley. The soil derived from these basaltic lavas is, just as in Upper Galilee, rich and highly retentive of water; the country is fertile, and springs and rivers are copious.

To the east and south-east of the Jaulan stretches the lower-lying, treeless plain of the Hauran, the larger portion of which, constituted by limestone covered with lava, has always been famous for the rich crops of wheat grown on its fat, dark-red loam of basaltic origin.

Further still to the east lies the great, rough plain of lava called the Lejá, and south of it tower the volcanic mountains of Jebel Druze.

A country as varied as Palestine in its relief must needs present striking differences in the climate of its different parts. The general features, however, of the climate are determined by the situation of Palestine, to the east of the Mediterranean Sea and in the south-western corner of the Asiatic continent, and at the southern edge of the zone of prevailing westerly and south-westerly winds. In winter Palestine lies well within this zone, but in summer, when the vast Asiatic continent becomes greatly heated by the sun, all climatic zones suffer a deflection northward, and Palestine finds itself well within the zone in which the winds blow from the south-east, east, north-east, north, and even north-west. The air that comes from the south-east has blown over the desert of Arabia, that from the east or north-east has passed over the dry interior of Asia, and neither of them has had an opportunity to collect moisture; nor has the wind that blows from the north. The latter, moreover, and also the north-westerly wind, which is loaded with moisture from the Mediterranean Sea, come from a colder into a warmer region, where their capacity for holding moisture increases. Hence no rain falls for five or six months in summer. In winter, however, the winds blow from the Mediterranean Sea. In winter the sea is warmer than the land; consequently,

the westerly and south-westerly winds, on crossing the Palestinian coast, are relatively warm, and therefore heavily loaded with moisture. As they travel inland, the gradually rising level of the land forces the winds also to rise. As it rises the air expands, as it expands it grows cooler, as it grows cooler it can no longer hold all its moisture, and drops a part of it in the form of rain, or, more seldom, of snow. But when air descends it is compressed, and becomes warmer and more capable of holding moisture. Therefore, as soon as the watershed is passed and the wind begins to descend the steep eastern slope of the central mountain range, it not only ceases to abandon moisture, but, on the contrary, begins to absorb it from the soil, and the region becomes an arid waste. Beyond Jordan, however, the wind rises once more on the escarpments of Moab, Gilead, and Jaulan, grows cooler, and drops rain on the western parts of these regions. Thus does it become clear why in Palestine all the western slopes and the summits are fertile, while the eastern slopes are dry and desert. Thus also is it explained why climatically the year in Palestine is divided, not into four seasons, nor into "summer" and "winter," but into a dry and a rainy season; and also why, if the "former" and "latter" rains at either end of the rainy season do not come at the expected time, or are not sufficiently heavy, the crops fail more or less completely.

The first heavy rains generally fall during the first half of November. The months of heaviest rainfall are December, January, and February. March has less rain, and about the middle of April the rainy season is normally over. During most winters some hail and snow fall on the hills; but occasionally the snowfall is very heavy, as in February, 1920, when the railways were blocked for several days, and many roofs collapsed in Jerusalem and Hebron. In general, however, in the west Jordan country the snow disappears within twenty-four hours; in Transjordan it lies for some days every year, and on Mount Hermon there are

places with eternal snow. In summer there is, as already shown, neither rain nor snow; but the brightness of the atmosphere leads to intense radiation and consequent cooling down of the surface of the soil, and this in turn causes the fall of excessively heavy dews, equivalent almost to light rains.

The intense heat of the summer is mitigated by the sea and land breezes, which blow with mathematical regularity in Palestine, as in many other countries situated near the sea. The cool northerly and north-westerly winds, which are especially felt in the mountainous districts, also help to make the summer less unpleasant. It is only under the dry, parching easterly and south-easterly desert winds, which are called "Sherkyeh" (= sirocco), that both day and night become oppressively hot; but these winds do not blow for more than perhaps twenty or twenty-five days every year.

The great dryness of the air during the greater part of the year causes extreme and sudden differences between the temperatures of day and night. The mean annual temperature in the central mountain range is 62° to 68° F. Except when there is a sirocco, the warmest summer days seldom exceed 90°. The warmest month is August; the coldest is February, with a mean temperature of 46°.

The warm and dry climate, and the porosity and denuded state of the limestone of the mountains and hills, sufficiently explain why Palestine is not a country of many perennial rivers. Some such rivers there are, however, and also some very copious springs. Most of the latter are naturally situated along the foot of the central mountain range, towards the maritime plain as well as towards the Ghor. The chief of these springs are the following: the fountains of *Ras-el-Ain* in the small plain of Tyre; those of *El-Kabri* and *et-Tell* on the fringe of the plain of Acco; the springs of the *Nahr Naamen* and the lower course of the Kishon; the fountain-head of *Ras-el-Ain*, which feeds the River

Aujeh north of Jaffa; the "Sources of Jordan" near *Banias* and *Tel-el-Kadi*; the springs of the plain of *el-Ghuwer* on the western shore of Lake Tiberias; the *Ain-Jalud* in the vale of Jezreel on the northern slope of Mount Gilboa; the *Ain es-Sultan* near Jericho; and the springs of *Ain Jidi* (Engedi) on the western shore of the Dead Sea. But in the mountains themselves there are some important fountain-heads and numerous smaller springs: the *Ain Fara*, north-east of Jerusalem; and the *Ain el-Fawar*, which is considered the most powerful spring in Palestine. East of Jordan the fountain of *es-Salt*, the springs of *Ayun Musa* near Mount Nebo, and those of *el-Mzerib* are to be mentioned. On the whole, Palestine appears to possess from five to six springs for every hundred square kilometres. The distribution is, however, unequal. Galilee has nine springs per square kilometre, Samaria seven to eight, and Judea only two to three. Amongst the perennial streams, the more important are the *Nahr el-Kasimye* (Litany), which forms the northern boundary of the country in the west; the lower courses of the *Nahr el-Mukatta* (Kishon) and of the *Nahr Naamen* (Belus); the *Nahr ez Zerka* and the *Nahr el-Aujeh*, in the maritime plain. East of the watershed, amongst those which descend into the Jordan Valley, the following streams deserve mention, from north to south: the *Wady Hindaj*, the *Wady el-Amud*, the *Wady Fejjas*, the *Wady el-Bireh*, the *Nahr Jalud*, and the *Wady Fara*. From the east the Jordan receives the *Shariat el-Menadire* (Yarmuk), which carries more water than the Jordan itself; the *Nahr ez Zerka* (Yabbok); the *Wady Nimrin*, which is fed by the springs of *es-Salt*; and the *Wady Hesban*. There remain the *Wady Zerka Ma'in*, the *Wady el-Mojib* (Arnon), the *Wady el-Kerak*, and the *Wady el-Hesa*, all of which flow directly into the Dead Sea. The Jordan itself has been mentioned before.

The physical features of a country play a determining part in the location of roads and settled communities. Palestine has always been the land-bridge over which

commerce and war have moved between Asia and Africa; accordingly, its main avenues of communication run north and south. But the number and depth of the valleys and gorges by which the hill country is dissected make it imperative for the roads to remain either in the plains or on the watershed. The most frequented of the roads, called in ancient times the "Road of the Sea" (*Via Maris*), came up from Egypt along the sea-shore, and ran through the whole length of the maritime plain, over the passes at the southern end of Mount Carmel, then across the plain of Esdraelon and the valleys of Lower Galilee north-eastwards towards Damascus. The second road runs along the watershed of the central mountain range from the south of Judea to Upper Galilee, and the third follows the watershed of the Transjordanic plateau. Transverse roads, which run more or less west and east through the gorges that lead up from the plains to the mountains, connect the road of the sea with the central mountain road, and the latter, by way of the Jordan fords situated south of Lake Tiberias and north of the Dead Sea, with the high-road of Transjordan. As far as history goes back, the roads have remained the same; and where railways have been built, they also practically follow the old tracks.

All the important towns of the country are naturally situated on these various roads. Thus along the road of the sea we have, from south to north, Gaza, Ramleh, Ludd, Jaffa, Tulkeram, Acre, Tyre, and Sidon; on the central mountain road, Beersheba, Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nablus (Shechem), Jenin, and Mzerib; Beisan and Jericho command the two fords by which the chief connecting roads between Western and Eastern Palestine cross the Jordan.

The distribution of villages is much less dependent on the road system than that of the towns. In the maritime plain, where every foot of land is cultivable soil, and water can be easily obtained from wells in almost any spot, villages are, as is the general rule in

agricultural countries, sprinkled almost uniformly over the whole region, although wherever possible an elevated site has been preferred for strategic and sanitary reasons. In the plain of Esdraelon, which during the rainy season is largely flooded and becomes a quagmire, the villages are situated only on hills or on artificial mounds. In the Shephelah, which throughout antiquity was a zone of strife between the men of the plain and those of the mountains, villages occupy positions of wide outlook and easy defence on the hill-tops. In Samaria and Lower Galilee they are concentrated in the open valleys—that is to say, around the points of assured water and food supply. But in the Judean highlands, where broad, fertile valleys do not exist, and only narrow gorges divide the hills from each other, the villages are perched on the summits or suspended on the steep slopes, in places where they do not interfere with the few existing patches of cultivable land, and where, thanks to the presence of intersections of joints or faults in the limestone, a permanent supply of good water can be found in the wadis below them.

Like the choice of the sites of towns and villages, the system of land tenure has been determined largely by the physical features of the country. In the plains and broad valleys, open to hostile attacks, there was no incentive for the people to plant trees, to erect buildings, or to carry out any other permanent works of improvement; individual ownership of land presented, therefore, no special advantage, and communal ownership, characterized by annual or half-yearly redistribution of the land by lot, which is but the adaptation to sedentary conditions of the “tribal pasture grounds” of nomadic times, has largely maintained itself. In the hill country, however, where there was more safety, and where, on the other hand, the soil could be retained on the slopes only by building terrace walls and by planting trees, continuity of possession was essential, and individual ownership has prevailed since the remotest times.

One cannot well treat of the physical features and the climate of Palestine without touching the much discussed question how far the present desolate state of the country, as compared with its great fertility in ancient times, has been caused by a fundamental change in the climate. It has been asserted that to-day the population is less dense than in the past, that this is because fertility is less, that fertility is less because there are less perennial rivers and springs, that there are less springs and rivers because the rainfall is less, and that the rainfall is less because the climate of Palestine and the surrounding countries has become markedly drier. That the population of Palestine is less dense to-day than it was 1,500 or 2,000 years ago cannot be doubted. Numerous ruins of ancient agglomerations, in places where to-day no vestige of settled life is to be found, proclaim the change; three ruined sites for every existing village is a moderate estimate. But the ruins are not always those of petty villages; they often belong to prosperous towns, so large and so rich that they were adorned with beautiful temples and theatres, remains of which are still in existence. Jerash, the ancient Gerasa, had a naumachia for water-sports, in which, around a tank 500 feet long and 180 feet wide, there were seats for several thousand people. Bosra, which has about 1,500 inhabitants to-day, had a hippodrome with seats for 25,000, and a theatre with seats for 9,000 people. Amman, which counts to-day hardly 2,000 inhabitants, had a theatre seating 12,000 people.

That the cultivated area has decreased is clear from the fact that the ruins of many ancient towns and villages are to-day surrounded by arid uncultivated wastes, whereas at the time of their prosperity the existence of cultivated fields and gardens around them must have been indispensable for their food-supply. The reduction in the area of cultivated land is further directly proved all over Palestine by innumerable ruins of retaining walls of terraces, boundary walls of

fields and orchards, and abandoned wine and oil presses, in places where to-day there is nothing but bare rock or patches of stony soil a few inches deep.

That, concurrently with this decrease in the area of cultivated land, the water-supply of Palestine has decreased is also a fact. Old wells, now empty and abandoned; Roman bathing establishments and *nau-machias* for water-sports in places where only poor trickling rivulets exist to-day; solid Roman bridges built to resist strong currents, but spanning nothing but dry wadis; ruins of ancient mills along beds of ever dry pebbles—all these prove that there has been undoubtedly a marked reduction in the number and importance of the running waters.

Thus it is clear that cultivation is less, and that the amount of moisture existing at or near the surface is also less. But the conclusion that the reduction in cultivation has been caused by the reduction of surface moisture, and that the latter in turn is due to a general desiccation of the climate within the historical period, is not supported by facts. The people still clothe themselves and build their houses as in olden times; the Biblical references to climatic features still fit the present conditions; the "former" and "latter" rains still occur at the same periods of the year as before; wherever the land is properly cultivated, the same fruit trees, cereals, and vegetables are grown and mature as before, nor has the time of sowing and harvesting changed. The only thing that has happened is that since Roman times the population has been reduced to an eighth or even a tenth of its numbers, and that those who survived have ceased to fight the destructive forces of nature. Given the return to the country of a hard-working, intelligent population, which will adopt proper methods of cultivation, rebuild the terraces, plant them with millions of fruit trees, and keep its life and property protected from the depredatory raids of nomads and from other attacks, the earth will once more be kept back on the surface of the mountains and

slopes, and so will the rain water; the springs will burst forth again, the beds of the wadis will be filled with perennial streams, and the country will once more "flow with milk and honey." But those who undertake the work of replanting the mountains with trees must be on their guard against the clamour for "afforestation." Palestine was never, in historical times, a country of forests; if it had been, it could never have provided foodstuffs for the millions who lived there. Palestine was a country of fruit trees, a garden, not a forest, of the Lord; as Sir G. A. Smith has rightly said, "The disappearance of vineyards and not of forests is the difference with which we have to reckon in the landscape of Palestine." *

* George Adam Smith, "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land," seventeenth edition, p. 83.

IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

BY DR. M. D. EDER

No practical issues that arise from the undertaking to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine are so little understood or so largely misunderstood as questions affecting immigration. An instance of this misunderstanding is found in the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the May, 1921, riots, where the Commissioners remark: "We are credibly assured by educated Arabs that they would welcome the arrival of well-to-do and able Jews who could help to develop the country to the advantage of all sections of the community" (Cmd. 1540, p. 54). It is a profound mistake to assume that wealthy people are best fitted to build up a country. The whole history of the building of the United States of America, of Canada, and of Australasia is one of brains, energy, and staying power, not money. A variation of this misunderstanding is frequent in the British press, where complaint is made that but few Jews emigrate to Palestine from Britain or the United States, and that the Eastern European immigrants are not people of wealth. It has never been laid down implicitly or explicitly that only Jews of Great Britain or the United States are fitted to build up a Jewish national home. No British-born Jew with any understanding of his people or with any measure of Jewish dignity recognizes the distinction here implied. If any such general difference is to be admitted, there is no doubt that he would grant the palm to the Jews from Eastern Europe as being peculiarly fitted through their superior intelligence and their greater energy for the resettling of Palestine.

The right immigration policy for Palestine is that recommended by Lord Northcliffe in his Empire message to Australasia: "Do not keep your lands empty because every immigrant has not got capital or a diploma of an agricultural college in his pocket. Everyone must find his level in the building of a young nation, and the man who has the courage to seek a new world has probably the energy to make good in it once he gets there" (*Times*, May 24, 1922).

Palestine is a young nation in the economic sense; equally does it open up a hope of a new world to the Jew. It has young, able, and energetic Jews who want to rebuild it; these last two years have shown us that we possess the human material that is needed. Naturally, Jews capable and able were not rejected because they brought capital with them. Those who have no money but possess the spirit of enterprise, those not afraid to face and overcome difficulties, those we have also, and we want more of them.

The Zionist immigration policy is a very simple one. Immigration must be entirely free from all political restrictions. No Jew shall be refused admission into Palestine by reason of his being a Jew or of the fact that there are a given number of Jews already in Palestine. A natural restriction on immigration is furnished by the possibility of economic absorption into the country. No one thinks of placing in Palestine at any given moment a larger number of Jews than can find work. Up till now, with very few exceptions, all those who have entered Palestine have found their niche. Many of these who have only been here a short time have already, by their enterprise, discovered new sources for the economic development of the country. They have opened up new enterprises, just as Jews have done who immigrated in former years to America or Great Britain.

It is agreed that immigration must keep pace with the economic capacity of Palestine to absorb the immigrants; but this implies that Jews must be

so allowed to enter Palestine that they shall by their labours increase that very capacity for economic development. The economic capacity of any land is in the main, as Lord Northcliffe points out, increased by the advent of enterprising and adventurous young people. Just that class of Jews came to Palestine in 1921. The economic value of Palestine is increased by this element much more than by the incoming of a few wealthy persons who put some of their capital into this or that industrial or economic investment. By this it is not meant that wealthy Jews are to be excluded by reason of their wealth, but that wealth should not be in itself a claim to admission. This idea that the bringing of wealth into the country can of itself increase the value of the country must be withstood.

Dr. Berkson well puts the Zionist position in his very able work "Theories of Americanization": "They (the Zionists) want a place where those Jews who so desire may follow their own customs, speak their own language, attend their own schools, and live in accordance with their own traditions and ideals. In this conception of nationality they follow that school of individualists, disciples of Mazzini, to whom group individuality is justified, not by its power to dominate, but by its ability to serve. Nationality is conceived of in terms not incompatible with, but helpful for the good of mankind."

The object of Jewish immigration to Palestine is to make of Palestine a land where the Jew can put forth all his powers, physical, intellectual, and moral, in the upbuilding of a new Palestinian nation in prosperity and freedom. The Jewish proportion of the population must be a large one; it must be sufficient to count as a Jewish factor in the upbuilding of the nation, otherwise it will undergo the fate that has met Jewish life in the Western world, where, if the Jews have contributed to the development and progress of the countries of their birth, the Jewish point of view has contributed

nothing directly either to the development of Jewish life or to the influencing of the nations in Jewish ways of thought.

That increase in riches does not necessarily add to the well-being of a country is demonstrated unfortunately by too many countries in the Orient. Many Oriental lands have in recent years grown enormously rich with the wealth of capital brought in from the outside, but the owners of the wealth have done little towards the uplifting of the life of the masses of the people. Mr. Brailsford describes the villages in Egypt as "slums of mud-houses, without a tree, a flower, or a garden. The huts, often without a window or a levelled floor, are minute dungeons of baked mud, usually of two rooms neither whitewashed nor carpeted. Those which I entered were bare of any visible property save a few cooking utensils, a mat to serve as a bed, and a jar which held the family food for days." "In Cairo," writes Louis Bertrand, "as elsewhere in Egypt, the wretchedness and grossness of the poorer-class dwellings are more than shocking. Two or three dark airless rooms usually open on a hallway not less obscure. The plaster peeling off from the ceiling and the worm-eaten laths of the walls fall constantly on to the filthy floor. The straw mats and the bedding are infested by innumerable vermin." An Anglo-Egyptian official once said to me: "Yes, indeed, Egypt is a rich country. Where else would the peasant pass fourteen hours a day under the baking sun in the mud of a Nile for a wage of a shilling?" An English writer says of Calcutta that it is the most shameful place in the East: "In its slums mill hands and dock coolies do not live; they pig. Houses choke with unwholesome breath; drains and compounds fester in filth. . . . Cows drink from wells soaked with sewage, and the floors of bakeries are washed in the same pollution."

Egypt, we know, has grown enormously rich under the British occupation; and the wealth of the Indies

has passed into a proverb, perhaps into a byword. But in those countries the European settler lives outside the life of the people. He is administrator, planter, overseer. In Palestine the incoming Jew is one of the people, and lives their life. Here, indeed, he is fed with the same food, subject to the same diseases, as the other inhabitants of Palestine; here the Jew comes to dwell and to live his life under the like conditions, good or ill. He is no "white man," returning to the hill stations for the hot season, sending his children for education to Europe, retiring to Europe on a pension or the interest of his investments when his active life ends. Whatever higher social and hygienic civilization the Jew brings with him, he must perforce impart to the inhabitants and the people among whom he dwells as one of them. The demands for improved conditions of health, for roomy dwellings, for healthy villages, spring not merely from a philanthropic interest in the welfare of these people of Palestine, but from the much stronger and more direct needs of self-interest. The farmers in the Jewish settlements know that any unsanitary conditions in the neighbouring Arab village may bring havoc upon their own families. The workers know that a lowering of Arab civilization will be the forerunner of their own debasement. Already Palestine shows examples of the rise in social well-being among the Arabs by reason of the return of the Jewish people. A demand for education has proceeded from the Arab villages, whilst in the neighbourhood of Jewish settlements there is a stirring of new life. Among the Arab workmen there is an inquiry into the possibilities of organization for the improvement of labour conditions.

It was early recognized that the Jewish immigrant into Palestine should be trained for work in the country. A great number of the young men had served in the various armies, and had thus missed the opportunity of a technical training; a number of others had had to break off their student careers. The late Captain

Trumpeldor, most strongly impressed by this need of technical training among the youths destining themselves for work in Palestine, took the initiative in shaping such training on effective lines, and it was due to his energy that the *Chalutzim* (pioneer) movement came into being. He formed groups and bands of young men and women, who trained themselves in farms, factories, and workshops. Since 1920 the young immigrants have been largely those who have gone through some period of training lasting up to two years. In addition to the practical work, many of them took theoretical courses and disciplined themselves in the Hebrew language.

As an example, I will quote from the recent report of one such group of 155 *Chalutzim*. The report classifies the *Chalutzim* under the following heads: Locksmiths, smiths, general mechanics, 51; carpenters and furniture-makers, 17; electrical engineers, etc., 24; masons, bricklayers, etc., 37; slatemaker, 1; watchmakers, 6; various, 19. The building group has been engaged in house-building for one year and is about to put up some further houses. The theoretical courses in house-building were followed by twenty persons, the subjects being bricklaying, stone-dressing, cement-making, drawing, etc. At first the *Chalutzim* received a lower wage than the ordinary workmen, owing to inferior skill, but on the new buildings upon which they are being engaged they are receiving full wages. The progress, states the report, has been so great that it is hoped that by the first of October the first batch of *Chalutzim* skilled in building trades from this group will be ready for work in Palestine.

All over Europe—in Holland, Germany, Austria and Poland, and even in Russia—similar bands of Jewish young men and women will be found undergoing the necessary training to qualify themselves for work in Palestine. The particular group here mentioned is exceptional in not including agricultural labourers;

for agriculture is the work chosen by the majority of these young people.*

Though the final selection of the immigrants must remain, as heretofore, in the hands of the Government of Palestine, the co-operation of the Zionist Organization in the selection of the immigrants cannot be abrogated if regard is to be had to the discovery of the best human material for our work. It is the Zionist Organization which naturally has the best knowledge as to the work required to be done and the keenest insight into the capacities of the applicants for admission into Palestine. During the early months of the present administration an arrangement was made under which the Zionist Organization was required to present periodically a schedule of the number of Jewish immigrants for whom work would be available in Palestine, and for whom the Zionist Organization was prepared to accept responsibility for maintenance and employment during a period of twelve months after their arrival in Palestine. The schedule was either accepted, modified, or rejected by the Government, who then instructed the local British representatives abroad to grant visas to the number of persons agreed upon. In accordance with the schedule, the officials of the Zionist Organization submitted the names of intending applicants to the local British representatives, who, if they had no objection on political or other grounds, granted a visa. Besides those immigrants for whom the Zionist Organization assumed responsibility, any person desiring to come to Palestine applied in the usual way to the British representative for a visa. For those, whether Jews or non-Jews, the Zionist Organization naturally assumed no financial responsibility. The advantages of this scheme to all concerned were:

(1) Immigration into Palestine was based upon the actual economic needs of the country, since the Zionist

* Statistics of recent Jewish immigration into Palestine are given in the table and graph on pp. 156-157.

Organization had to maintain all those out of work, and its own interests forbade the bringing into the country of a large number of persons for whom no work was available.

(2) The primary selection of the immigrants was left to those best able to judge the character and capacity of the intending immigrants.

(3) There was a complete check upon any possible over-sanguine estimate on the part of the Zionist Organization in the requirement of the approval of the Government of Palestine.

(4) The British representatives had the final word, thus controlling the quality of the intending immigrants.

Before names were submitted to the British representative a medical examination was carried out at the instance of the local Zionist Organization, in addition to the fullest inquiries as to the standing and ability of the applicant. It should be added that, although the Zionist Organization was responsible only for the maintenance, if out of work, of those persons for whom it had accepted responsibility, in actual practice it took a similar responsibility for a much larger number of Jewish immigrants who had come into Palestine through other channels. Since the opening up of immigration there has not been any case of an immigrant becoming a charge upon the Palestine Government.

The Zionist Organization has provided immigration camps and shelters at Haifa and Jaffa, to which the immigrants proceed as soon as they are cleared from quarantine. In both places the camps are conveniently near to the sea, provided with bathing facilities with both hot and cold water, and rooms for the disposal of baggage. On the arrival of immigrants at the camp all particulars are registered—trade, languages, financial status. The new-comers remain in the camp until they proceed to work or otherwise settle themselves in the country.

The Zionist Organization has provided in these camps the first necessities of life; and in order to ensure certain comforts to the new-comers, the Palestine Immigrants' Welfare Committee was formed in 1921 under the chairmanship of Sir Wyndham Deedes. This committee looks after the cultural and physical needs of the *Chalutzim*; it provides circulating libraries, lectures on the elements of hygiene, on the history and geography of Palestine, on the elements of agriculture in Palestine; it organizes sports and games, such as football, boxing, running, and the like. Football teams from immigration camps have played in Jerusalem and elsewhere against local teams. The Women's International Zionist Organization is carrying out a much-needed work in the erection of a hostel, where *Chalutzoth* (girl immigrants) are trained in vegetable-growing and poultry-raising, in housewifery and cooking, their services finding an immediate practical application in the kitchens of the immigration camps.

Although Palestine has been heretofore without any legislation on labour, the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine have in their own interests voluntarily enacted certain regulations. Child labour does not obtain; regulations have been drawn up and observed concerning employment of women before and after childbirth; in such factories as exist there are regulations limiting the hours of work; and attempts have been made, although not very successfully, to introduce a minimum wage rate in agriculture and other industries. All these regulations, although having no legal force, are for the most part faithfully carried out by Jewish employers and workmen.

The interests of labour are served by two Jewish political parties and by industrial organizations.

The *Hapoel Hazair* (Young Workers) and the *Achduth Avodah* (Labour Union) are the principal political parties in the labour movement in Palestine.

The programme of the *Achduth Avodah* is Socialist-Zionist, and this party is affiliated through the right

wing of the world organization of the *Poalé Zion* to the Vienna International, which is opposed on the one hand to the opportunism of the Second International, and on the other hand to the dictatorial methods of the Third International. The *Hapoel Hazair* is not affiliated to any International, but only to the world organization called *Hitachduth* (the union, i.e., of all Zionist labour organizations). Instead of using the current terms of Socialism, it expresses its programme in one conception, "Labour," which includes the following fundamental principles:

(1) Revival of the nation by means of labour, especially agricultural labour.

(2) *Chalutzim* (pioneering).

(3) Independent (as distinct from hired) labour for the individual.

This programme has some resemblance to the principles of the "Distributive State."

The ultimate aim of the programme of the *Achduth Avodah* is the establishment of a Jewish Socialistic Society in Palestine, whilst the ideal of the *Hapoel Hazair* is to found a Jewish working people in Palestine—a society of workers without parasites, exploiters or exploited. *Hapoel Hazair* is even in theory opposed to the "class-war" policy as a basis of its work towards the goal of "Zionism." The right wing of the confederation of the *Poalé Zion*, of which the *Achduth Avodah* is a fraction, recognizes this "class-war" point of view, but even the *Achduth Avodah* in its work in Palestine abstains from employing this policy in its actual activities. Instead of concentrating on the "class war," the two parties concentrate all their energies and influence amongst Palestinian workmen, amongst Jews in the Diaspora and in the Zionist Organization, on the creation of conditions which will render constructive work possible in Palestine. It is by means of this constructive work that the two parties endeavour to attain their ultimate aim. This endeavour expresses itself in general in the co-operative

movement in all branches of life in Palestine. In this way the two parties endeavour to free the Jewish settlements in Palestine from destructive conflicts between employer and employees. Of course the defence of the interests of the artisan and of the hired labourer by various methods—*e.g.*, by strikes to improve conditions of work—finds an important place in their activities; but these are carried out with the utmost circumspection in order to give full play to their desire for constructive work and to attain the aims of Zionism.

The real trend of the labour parties in Palestine can be best judged in a general way, not from their theoretical programmes, but from their practical activities. This trend is revealed by the activities of the two parties in the General Labour Organization during the last year. The General Labour Organization includes most of the Palestinian (Jewish) workmen; the management of its affairs and its institutions are almost entirely in the hands of the members of the two parties named. Practical economic activities have pushed on one side for a moment the special work of the two parties. The whole energy of the labour movement is devoted to economic activities—procuring work for workmen, foundation of economic institutions such as a Workmen's Bank, Jewish Co-operative Labour Association, Sick Fund, care of new immigrant labour, help to unemployed, etc.

The General Labour Organization includes among its important sections the Agricultural Workers' Union, with some 2,500 members, and the Builders' and General Labourers' Union, with something like 2,000 members. In the Agricultural Workmen's Organization are enrolled both agricultural workers for employers and those working on co-operative or individualistic lines on their own account in various Jewish settlements, such as Daganian, Nahalal, and Ain Harod. The work of the Builders' and General Labourers' Union is of particular interest. This organization of

workmen has been engaged for the last eighteen months in road-making and house-building, and has acted as contractor for various undertakings, obtaining contracts by the acceptance of its tenders in the usual way, both from the Government and from private institutions, or from persons who are building houses. The capital has been obtained partly as loans through the Zionist Organization in Palestine, and partly through the Workers' Bank. After allowing a certain percentage for administrative and overhead expenses, any profits or losses are shared by the body of men engaged in the particular work. The Union has its own engineers, draftsmen, and architects, seeking in this way to eliminate the middleman contractor. Both this organization and the co-operative agricultural settlements are very similar to the movement known in England as the National Guilds, with its practical outcome in the Building Guild. Should the results of the Palestinian Builders and General Labourers' Union prove successful, as there is every reason to hope, Palestine will be entering upon a new field of industrial co-operation, which should eliminate most of the evils attending labour conditions in Europe and the United States: strikes, lockouts, and unemployment.

The cultural wants of the Jewish workmen have not been neglected. Libraries, lectures, and scientific excursions are provided, a special cultural committee of the Organization existing for this purpose.

The Jewish Labour Party finds in its ideals of independence founded on the freedom of the individual the basis for friendly relations with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, but it seems to have recognized the necessity of proceeding here with great caution, in view of the existing differences in their cultural and economic points of view and situation. Arab employees are being approached with a view to the arrangement of mutual assistance among, for instance, the railway workers; the way may, it is hoped, be thus opened for National (Palestinian) Labour Unions.

A desire for a new and better organized life has found expression in many of the agricultural settlements—for instance, in those at Nahalal, Dagania, Ain Harod, Hashomer Hazair. Some of these (Dagania, Ain Harod) are based on community of goods and equal pay for all. Thus at Ain Harod the dentist is a full member of the community, receiving in return for his services accommodation and board, instruments and cigarettes; the doctor, however, refuses to succumb to the charms of a communal way of living. These first communal experiments in Palestine, recalling early Christian practice and preaching, will certainly be watched with interest. Other of the settlements—*e.g.*, Nahalal—are co-operative agricultural settlements based upon private property and private family life. The settlers regard themselves as the pioneers of the more perfect way. They have shown the example: it is for others to follow. There is no thought of forcing others to follow, either by the compulsion of the State or by economic pressure. The force of example, it is hoped, will be sufficient to establish throughout Palestine the way of life that shall most nearly accord with the deeper aspirations of man.

In the meantime, undisturbed, though perhaps not untouched, by these idealistic stirrings, men and women and children are awaiting in all the Jewish centres of Europe their turn for admission into the land of their fathers. The best are chosen, and these are a goodly assembly. Rich by their energy and faith, as strong spiritually as they are physically, impelled by those deep underlying forces that surmount all obstacles, they make naught of hardships or dangers, and ask nothing but to labour in peace for the upbuilding of the New Palestine.

The following table gives the number of Jewish immigrants registered by the Zionist Immigration Bureaux from July 1, 1920, the date of the setting up of the civil administration, to June 30, 1922.

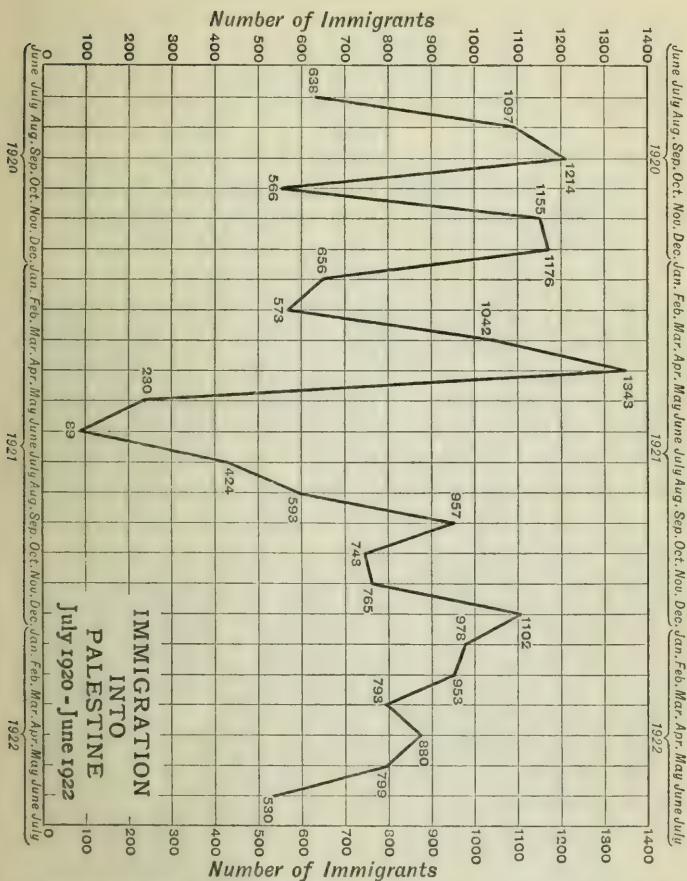
IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE, JULY, 1920, TO
JUNE, 1922.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Single Persons.</i>	<i>Heads of Families.</i>	<i>Dependents accom- panying Heads of Families.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
July,* 1920	—	—	—	638
August,* "	—	—	—	1,097
September, "	762	131	321	1,214
October, "	411	54	101	566
November, "	587	151	417	1,155
December, "	551	182	443	1,176
January, 1921	305	91	260	656
February, "	312	73	188	573
March, "	527	149	366	1,042
April, "	669	173	501	1,343
May,† "	118	54	58	230
June,‡ "	38	14	37	89
				9,779
July,‡ 1921	251	82	91	424
August, "	395	68	130	593
September, "	375	192	390	957
October, "	301	145	297	743
November, "	407	130	228	765
December, "	634	175	293	1,102
January, 1922	506	125	347	978
February, "	482	137	334	953
March, "	386	133	274	793
April, "	266	174	440	880
May, "	227	176	396	799
June, "	179	89	262	530
				9,517
				19,296

* Only total figures available.

† Immigration suspended first week in May, 1921, after the riots at Jaffa.

‡ Immigration resumed.



NOTE.—Corresponding figures for the year ending June 30, 1923, are not yet available. The total number of Jewish immigrants from January 1, 1922, to May 31, 1923, is officially returned as follows:

January 1 to December 31, 1922	..	7,844
January 1 to May 31, 1923	..	4,088

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE: PAST AND FUTURE

BY A. RUPPIN (JERUSALEM)

FIVE years have elapsed since General Allenby entered Jerusalem in December, 1917, at the head of his victorious troops, and occupied Palestine up to the Aujeh-Ramallah line. Nine months later the northern portion of the country also fell into his hands. The British military administration lasted till July 1, 1920, when it was succeeded by the civil administration set up by Sir Herbert Samuel, the first British High Commissioner for Palestine.

It may be assumed that, in accordance with the Anglo-French Agreement of December, 1920, the area of Palestine (without Transjordan) consists of about 18,000 square kilometres. At this stage it is impossible to define the area more precisely, as the southern frontier is not quite definitely settled.

“The first regular Census of Palestine was taken on the night of October 22-23, 1922, with the following results:

Mohammedans ..	..	..	590,890
Jews ..	..	..	83,794
Christians ..	..	..	73,024
Others ..	..	..	9,474
Total ..			<hr/> 757,182 <hr/>

“These figures include 103,331 residents in ‘tribal

areas' (*i.e.*, Beduin), of whom 72,898 belong to the Southern District (Beersheba).

"The conditions of life in Palestine make it almost impossible to secure an absolutely accurate enumeration, but for all practical purposes the returns now published may be taken as substantially correct for the date to which they relate.

"Since then Jewish immigrants have continued to come in at the rate of about 800 a month."

During the financial year 1920-21, goods valued at £5,200,000 were imported, while the exports were £770,000. During the year 1921-22, for which full details are not yet available, the imports seem to have diminished, while the exports increased.* This is explained by the fact that better prices were obtained for oranges, of which larger quantities were exported. On the other hand, the large stocks of goods imported during the previous year made it unnecessary to place large orders abroad. The general fall of prices also tended to bring down the figure of imports. The considerable difference between imports and exports is to a great extent balanced by the influx of tourists, private remittances from abroad, and the considerable sums that are being spent by various philanthropic organizations for the purpose of advancing Jewish interests. The sums thus spent in Palestine amounted in 1921 to at least £1,000,000, of which one-half was spent by the Zionist Organization and its institutions. The other half consisted in part of money spent by the Joint Distribution Committee (for the upkeep of orphans), the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the Evelina de Rothschild School, and a large number of Orthodox philanthropic institutions, such as orphanages, *Talmud Torahs*, *Yeshiboth*, and homes for the aged, and in part of private remittances from relatives abroad to their families in Palestine.

* The official figures for the calendar year 1922 are as follows:

Imports	..	..	..	..	£E 5,581,132
Exports	..	..	..	..	£E 1,353,368

In what follows an attempt is made to survey what has been done in Palestine since the British occupation in the field of economic activity, and to sketch briefly the probable economic developments of the next few years. Throughout this summary the activities of the Government and those of private persons or companies are kept distinct.

A. THE PAST.

1. *Activities of the Government.*—The Great War spelt economic ruin for Palestine. It is true that military operations in Palestine itself were not directly responsible for any considerable destruction of economic values, but the indirect losses were very severe. It is sufficient to remember that before the war import and export were maintained exclusively by sea routes, which the war entirely closed. Important commodities of daily use, such as sugar, coffee, rice, textiles, metal goods, glass-ware, etc., disappeared from the local market. Fuel, for which Palestine depended on outside sources, gradually disappeared, and reached such fabulous prices that it was practically impossible to run the pumping-motors used for the irrigation of the orange-groves. As a consequence, many of the groves, representing considerable capital, were completely ruined.

Of the two railway lines in existence at the time—Jaffa-Ramleh-Jerusalem and Haifa-Damascus—the former was almost completely ruined by the removal of the metals of the Jaffa-Ramleh section for use elsewhere, while the latter was practically closed to civilian traffic. The roads, with the exception of such as were needed for military purposes, were allowed to fall into disrepair. The Palestinians were already used to bad roads, as the metalled roads at the time were impassable even for carriages. The requisition of various commodities by the Turks involved the merchants in considerable loss, while the forcible enrolment of the population and animals into military units

made any regular cultivation of the land impossible. The facilities for the transport of cereals from Transjordan to Jerusalem and Jaffa were inadequate. This, added to the insufficiency of supplies, brought the populations of these towns to the verge of starvation. One of the consequences of the poor quality and insufficiency of the food and the lack of medical supplies was the spread of typhoid and other diseases, which decimated the population. Finally, mention should be made of the expulsion of 30,000 people from Jaffa in the early part of 1917, which was explained at the time as necessary for military purposes.

This was the condition of the country when the British forces arrived. It was no easy matter to reintroduce order into a country which had suffered so greatly. Every impartial observer must admit that the military authorities, in spite of several mistakes, carried out this difficult task in a satisfactory manner. The newly built railway line to Kantara was used freely for the bringing up of foodstuffs for the hungry population. The spread of infectious diseases was arrested. The railway system, which had completely broken down during the war, was restored. At a very early stage the telephone service was made available; the administration of justice, police reform, the reorganization of finance, were all taken in hand and considerable improvements effected.

With the change from the military to the civil administration in 1920, and the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner, a general quickening in the reorganization of departments became noticeable. The repair of the metalled roads and the building of new roads were undertaken in a systematic manner. The automobile, which had hitherto scarcely been used at all, chiefly on account of the condition of the roads, and partly also owing to the stagnant condition of trade, became an important means of locomotion. It is now possible to travel from Safed to Beersheba in ten hours. The acquisition of additional up-to-date

rolling-stock has made possible great improvements in the handling of railway traffic. The telephone system has spread all over the country. Loans have been granted from the funds of the Turkish Agricultural Bank. These loans enable agriculturists who had been robbed by the Turks of their live-stock to acquire draught animals for the purpose of cultivating the soil. Building activity was promoted by the reduction of the Customs duty on imported building materials from 12 per cent. to 3 per cent. The tobacco monopoly of the Turkish *régie* was cancelled. Negotiations were opened with the Ottoman Public Debt with a view to putting an end to the salt monopoly. A law was promulgated fostering the formation of co-operative societies, which had no legal status under the Turkish régime. Chambers of Commerce were created in all the important towns. A new Department of Commerce and Industry was established for the purpose of advising the Government on economic matters, and of supplying information to the general public. In order to stimulate the arts and crafts and to make their products better known to the public, exhibitions of handiwork were arranged in 1921 and 1922. Whereas under the Turkish régime the greater part of the revenues raised in Palestine by taxation was sent to Constantinople to cover the needs of other parts of the Turkish Empire, the Palestine Government has introduced a regular Budget, according to which the total revenues, amounting to over £2,000,000, are spent on local needs. Almost all the legal and administrative acts of the Government were actuated by the desire to stimulate the economic development of Palestine. The population sees clearly that it may count upon the Government for support in any economic venture for the benefit of the country.

Criticism of the Government's economic policy, so far as it exists, is concerned mainly with the continuance of the 12 per cent. ad valorem duty on all imported commodities on the one hand, and the continued use

of Egyptian currency on the other. I shall have occasion to deal with these points later.

2. *Private Activities*.—Cultivation of the soil has improved gradually with the improvement in the condition of the country. As a result, the area under cultivation in 1921-22 was larger than ever before. The poor condition of the crops has, up to the present, prevented the agriculturists from realizing any considerable improvement in their position. This is true of the Jews as well as of the fellahin. The position of the Jews is further prejudiced by the closing down of the American market for Palestine wine, by the cessation of trade with Russia, and the comparatively insignificant trade with the ruined countries of Eastern Europe. Italian competition in the almond market is also hindering to some extent the restoration to prosperity of the Jewish colonies. Orange-growers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have done well in the last few years. In the Jaffa district all the growers have combined into one syndicate, and have thus been able to reduce their working costs. The syndicate sends its supplies direct to Liverpool, Glasgow, and Hull. The American orange-packing factory recently established near Petach-Tikvah is likely to be of real assistance to the orange-growers. By the process adopted in this factory the fruit is washed, dried, polished, and graded. This process will no doubt result in additional profit for the industry. Dairy-farming has also made some progress, especially in the Jewish colonies.

Speaking generally, industry in Palestine before the war was limited to soap and oil production, with a few woodwork and cement factories, and some workshops for the production of *objets d'art* and religious articles. The following additional industries have been introduced and developed by Jewish effort since the war.

(i.) Cigarette factories: Since the abolition of the tobacco monopoly a number of small factories have

been established in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Safed. Several hundred workpeople are employed in this industry.

(ii.) Building trade: The Palestine Silicate Company of Tel-Aviv has recently opened a large plant for the manufacture of bricks. In addition, a number of new concerns for the manufacture of building materials have been established, and existing concerns enlarged. Several cabinet-making and furniture plants have been set up in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Tiberias.

(iii.) Flour-mills: A French company, in which Baron Edmond de Rothschild is interested, has just finished the construction of a flour-mill on modern lines in Haifa. A number of other flour-mills have been started in other parts of the country.

(iv.) The Shemen Company is erecting a modern plant for the manufacture of oil, soap, and margarine.

Among other new industrial undertakings may be mentioned a chocolate factory in Jaffa, a distillery in Petach-Tikvah, mechanical engineering shops in Haifa and Tiberias, a carpet factory in Jerusalem, a textile mill in Jaffa, two small tanneries in Tel-Aviv, a straw and felt hat factory in Jerusalem, several printing works in Jerusalem, two manufacturing stationers, two companies for the working of quarries in Athlit and Jerusalem, a power laundry in Jaffa, a small brewery in Jaffa, and a number of mineral-water and ice factories in different parts of the country.

Since 1921 the building trade has grown steadily. Before that time the high cost of materials and labour made building practically impossible. Since then the conditions have materially improved. Tel-Aviv is the centre of most of the building at present. About 300 houses, a number of shops, and a sea-bathing establishment have been constructed at a cost of more than £200,000. Haifa is second to Jaffa in building activity, while in Jerusalem there has been very little activity of this kind.

Building activity in Jaffa is not confined to Jews.

Many non-Jews are taking the initiative in reducing the housing shortage.

About 100 houses are to be built in the Hadar Hakarmel quarter of the port of Haifa. The carrying out of this project depends upon the necessary building credit being made available. Building schemes in Jerusalem provide for between 50 and 100 houses in two new Jewish suburbs. In Tiberias a new Jewish suburb has already been started with the building, now in progress, of forty houses. In Rehoboth and Nachlath-Jehuda, Hedera, and other colonies additional houses have been built. Building activity in the towns will receive valuable assistance from the two Jewish Mortgage Banks which have recently been established, and which are now commencing operations.

New agricultural settlements have been established by the Zionists on land recently acquired in Emek-Jezreel. These settlements will have an advantage over the older colonies in that the roads, drainage, and irrigation are carried out in a systematic manner before the beginning of the agricultural work proper. The plans of these settlements have been prepared on the most up-to-date lines. The Jewish Colonization Association has begun drainage operations on a large scale on swampy lands near Cæsarea, of which it has obtained a long lease from the Government.

Agricultural experiment stations have been established in several places in the country. They provide facilities for the study of plants which are either little known or not known at all, and of modes of improving the yields by the application of scientific methods, suitable manures, and proper selection of seeds. The crops obtained at present in Palestine can only satisfy the fellah, whose requirements are very limited. Agriculture can satisfy a European only if he succeeds in obtaining much heavier crops by making use of more advanced methods and new plants. Hence the great value of the work of these experimental stations. Among the experiments carried out by the stations,

the most important are the tests of superior varieties of tobacco, sugar-cane, flax, new fodder plants, and oil-bearing fruit. If the experiments now carried out give satisfactory results, they will not only mean that better and wider prospects will be opened to agriculture, but will also serve as a basis for the development of new large-scale industries.

A considerable improvement has been made during the British occupation in the Jewish colonies in dairy-farming, bee-keeping, poultry-raising, and vegetable cultivation. It is worth noting that the quantity of milk produced has been appreciably increased as a result of the importation of pedigree cows, and of the introduction of improved methods of raising fodder.

B. THE FUTURE.

1. *Activity of the Government.*—The most important problem which the Government of the country has to solve in so far as transportation facilities are concerned is the building of at least one harbour or, if possible, two harbours at Jaffa and Haifa. In the present state of things vessels have to stop at a distance of 1 to 2 kilometres from the shore, and lighters have to be used for the loading or discharging of goods and passengers. This means an increase in the price of commodities, delay, breakage, and danger to life. On the average the reloading of one ton costs as much as 62 piastres, with an additional 18 piastres for loading into the railway car, making an average total of 80 piastres per ton. It not infrequently costs as much to load or reload certain goods as to ship them from European ports to Jaffa. If in summer shipping difficulties can be overcome, this is hardly possible during the winter months. During these months the weather is practically always stormy, and it is frequently utterly impossible to load or discharge cargoes. It is a constant occurrence for steamers to lie waiting off Jaffa or Haifa for several days and to have to leave

without having landed or loaded anything, only because, on account of rough weather, the small lighters would not risk putting to sea. For many years past, plans for the building of harbours in Jaffa and Haifa have been elaborated and discussed. A comparatively moderate expenditure would probably suffice to build both harbours in a way which would satisfy actual needs for years to come. Furthermore, the income from the land which would be reclaimed would greatly reduce the cost of construction. It is absolutely essential that the projects be executed as speedily as possible, because a well-built harbour is the key to the economic development of any country.

The railway system of Western Palestine (which in length is about 500 kilometres) is on the whole adequate for the present needs of the country. It would, however, be desirable to join Jerusalem with Shechem by a direct broad-gauge line, widening the existing Shechem narrow line. By this means communication between the capital and the northern portion of the country and Damascus would be facilitated. At some later date it would be desirable to continue the Afuleh-Nablus-Jerusalem line to Beersheba via Hebron. In this way two parallel trunk lines would be created, running across the country from north to south.

These two lines should be fed by a system of metalled roads running from east to west. In a little country like Palestine, where cross-country journeys do not exceed 100 kilometres, a well-developed road system would enormously assist the development of local resources.

The Government has drawn up an extensive plan of road building. Altogether, nineteen new roads are to be built, but as there are at present no means to cover the expenditure involved, there is no certainty as to the period during which the plan as a whole will be carried out. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Jerusalem-Jaffa main road needs to be further improved and widened. The traffic on this road

is already considerable, and it tends to grow very rapidly.

The Standard Oil Company, which before the war received from the Turkish Government a *permis de recherche* for the south of the Dead Sea, virtually commands the situation in the whole of southern Palestine. Many experts have expressed the opinion that rich oil-wells are likely to be found in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, and the fact that the Standard Oil Company, which has already spent large sums on exploring, intends to continue work in the same direction is the best proof that there is a well-founded hope of finding mineral oil in this region. The discovery of oil will prove to be of very great importance to Palestine and Syria, where no coal-mines exist.

The utilization of the potential water-power of Palestine for irrigation and electric purposes is not less important than the finding of mineral oil. The Rutenberg* scheme has for its object the utilization of the great natural tank of the Lake of Tiberias and the considerable difference of level between the Jordan and the Yarmuk Rivers in order to generate up to 100,000 h.p. of electric energy. The realization of the Rutenberg project will make it possible to have more than enough cheap electric power for running the railways, local industries, and for domestic purposes. By means of irrigation, not only will the crops be increased four- or five-fold, as compared with non-irrigated areas, but there will be a guarantee against frequent drought, which spells ruin in this country. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government to accelerate the execution of this vital project by all possible means. It is hoped that the capital needed will be found privately. Considering that some years must elapse before the irrigation part of the project can be carried out in detail, it is desirable that in the meantime an auxiliary plan be adopted to cover immediate urgent needs.

* The full text of the Rutenberg Concession is printed below as Appendix I. (pp. 267 ff).

Certain barren and stony valleys situated in the Judean mountains could be closed, forming considerable reservoirs of waters, which would be distributed either by gravitation or by means of pumping. Such structures could be erected in a very brief period, and their beneficial effect would be felt immediately.

The Customs system of Palestine requires immediate revision. At present 12 per cent.* ad valorem is levied on all imported commodities, with few exceptions. Raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, and manufactured articles are treated alike. Because of this arrangement, local industries recently introduced have the greatest difficulty in competing with the old-established concerns of the exporting countries. Although the industrialist of Palestine has to pay a Customs duty of 12 per cent. on the raw materials he requires, the Customs system does not offer him the slightest protection in return. Under such circumstances, the building up of new industries depending upon imports of the raw materials needed would be greatly hindered even in normal times, but the difficulties the local manufacturer has to face now are quite abnormal, because Palestine has, in addition, to compete with countries with a low rate of exchange. In order to help industry to gain a footing in Palestine, the duty on manufactured goods should be increased, while a much lower duty should be imposed on raw materials. Until this is done, there can be no hope that industries which depend upon imported raw materials will obtain a footing here.

With the British occupation, Egyptian currency was introduced into the country. The notes issued by the National Bank of Egypt and the small change minted by the Egyptian Government are legal tender in Palestine. This is no longer justifiable, especially since Egypt is now an independent State, and is in no way connected with Palestine. The currency system

* Eleven per cent. plus an additional 1 per cent. to compensate the Municipalities for the abolition of the octroi.

of Palestine should be reconsidered at the earliest possible date. The experience hitherto gained shows that the Egyptian pound, which is divided into 100 piastres, is far from being the most suitable currency for Palestine. The high retail prices which prevail are undoubtedly to a certain extent due to the fact that the piastre is the smallest coin, as against the Turkish metallik used formerly, which was worth only about one-fifth of a piastre. The sudden replacement of the gold franc, which was in use in banking and wholesale trade, by the Egyptian pound, which is worth 25·90 gold francs, has also reacted disadvantageously. It would probably be best to base the new Palestinian currency upon the pound sterling, the Palestinian unit of currency being equal to one-twentieth of the sovereign. The second step to be taken in the matter of currency is to found a Palestine Bank of Issue, which would cover with British Treasury bonds the full value of the notes issued, just as is the case with the National Bank of Egypt.

Since Sir Herbert Samuel took over the reins of government, the Administration of Palestine has devoted its attention to the question of a Government loan. Up to the present time it has been impossible to carry through this measure because of the unfavourable money market, and because the political status of Palestine was not sufficiently stable. But with the clearing up of political uncertainty, and the gradual improvement of economic conditions in Western Europe and America, the loan is likely to become a practical proposition at an early date. The Budget of Palestine for the financial year 1921-22, which balances at about £2,000,000, could cover without difficulty the interest upon a loan of two or three millions—the more so as the loan is intended for economic enterprises, such as the building of harbours, railways, and metalled roads, and the participation of the Government in the establishment of a Bank of Issue and an Agricultural Bank. All the aforesaid undertakings will tend to increase the economic values

of the country, which will mean that the income of the Government will be increased.

2. *Private Initiative in the Future.*—As already mentioned, Palestine agriculture to-day yields but small crops. This field of enterprise cannot, therefore, at present hope to attract capital seeking profitable investment. It is also a mistake to suppose that the profits of agriculture can be increased by simply introducing modern machinery and implements. Technique alone cannot achieve this end. It is essential that the very methods be altered. Only then will agriculture become a paying concern for modern capital. Hence, it is necessary to wait until the results of the experiments now carried out by the experiment stations become known. As things are, agriculture offers a field of activity only to the fellahin who are satisfied with little or to those immigrants from Europe who are offered exceptionally good terms—as regards land and credit—by Jewish philanthropic organizations more or less Zionist in character.

Industry offers a far greater field of activity for private capital. Nevertheless, it is necessary to utter a warning against the current conception that there is room in Palestine for every kind of industry. Lack of harbours, transport facilities, and buildings, and the 12 per cent. Customs duty, constitute obstacles which can hardly be surmounted by many industries which would otherwise have a good chance of development. There are, however, a number of industries which could prosper in spite of the difficulties mentioned. Among these come the concerns which will depend upon raw materials produced or found in Palestine itself, which do not require too much fuel, and can dispose of an important portion of the output in the country itself. Such undertakings as oil refineries, fruit-preserving works, macaroni factories, textile mills, tanneries, and cane-sugar refineries, have a good chance of success. The manufacture of glass has also good prospects.

Another class of undertakings which have good

opportunities are the industries connected with building. Apart from the silicate factory mentioned above, clay, brick, and roofing-tile factories could probably achieve good results. The prospects of the manufacture of cement, an industry which has already attracted attention, are also good. It is believed, and with good reason, that the following enterprises could be run at a good profit: fishing, refrigeration plant, jetty (in Tel-Aviv), motor transport, hot baths at Tiberias, hotels—on the Carmel, in Jericho, in Safed—financing of the projected business quarters in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa.

The tourist traffic, which was at a standstill during the war and during the first years after the war, started anew in 1922. During that year, about 6,000 tourists, most of them Americans, visited the country, mainly during February and March. The number of tourists would have increased but for lack of hotel accommodation. For the time being, the accommodation of tourists is rather difficult. Good hotels, suitable for tourists, ought to be built in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Tel-Aviv. The hot sulphur baths of Tiberias, which are at present in a very primitive state, and hardly fit for the use of European visitors, ought to be rebuilt on modern lines. They would then certainly attract large numbers of invalids from all the countries of the East, and possibly also from Europe. It would also be profitable to provide accommodation for the winter season in Tiberias and Jericho, where there is little rain and the climate is mild in winter. On the other hand, it would be worth while to have summer stations on the Carmel and in Safed, where the summers are cool.

So far as business investments are concerned, the mortgage institutions which are concerned with advancing loans for urban building offer excellent opportunities. Jewish immigration, which has proceeded at the rate of about 9,000 per annum during the last two years, makes house-building imperative,

as no houses or flats are to be had. As is the case in other countries, building activity can take place only if mortgage credit is available. The General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, which was founded by the Zionist Organization, has already started business, and it is likely that it will shortly begin to issue debentures. These debentures will bear 6 per cent. interest, and will be paid off within fifteen to twenty years.

There can be no doubt that the economic development of Palestine has made great strides since the British occupation. If its development continues at the same rate, there is the prospect of its becoming in ten or twenty years the most progressive land in the Near East.

INDUSTRIAL PROSPECTS IN PALESTINE

By N. WILBUSH (HAIFA)

BEFORE the war there was no spirit of commercial enterprise in Palestine, and the country did nothing for its own industrial development; all the initiative and all the capital came from abroad. In the period immediately succeeding the war, owing on the one side to the prohibition of immigration, and on the other to the condition into which the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe had been plunged by persecution, pogroms, and the depreciation of the exchanges, there could be no possibility of an improvement, and very little indeed was done in the way of industrial undertakings. The most notable achievement during this period was the extension of the Ludd-Haifa Railway line by 112 kilometres. Under the military administration, however, the working of the line was beset with great difficulties. During this period, too, most of the Palestinian owners of workshops managed to get their places going again after the interval of the war. The only new undertakings were a few in the building materials line, including a couple of cement goods factories, a saw-mill, and joinery workshops in Jaffa and Haifa. But the riots of Easter, 1920 in Jerusalem brought these beginnings to a full stop, and all projects for further undertakings were laid aside for many months.

This was the condition of affairs when Sir Herbert Samuel became High Commissioner and a civil administration was introduced. Under the new régime it was not long before important steps were taken to improve the condition of the country, and among other

things, to promote industry. The transference of the railways to civil administration, the extension of the Jerusalem-Ludd line to Jaffa, the repairing of old roads and building of new ones, and the lengthening of the mole at Haifa, have already contributed, and will contribute still more in the future, to the improvement of transport. The lowering of the duty on building materials from 11 to 3 per cent. has assisted building, while the removal of the embargo on immigration and the restoration of internal free trade have helped to produce a reduction in the cost of living and a lowering of wages. The projected afforestation of the country will contribute to a solution of the fuel and timber problem, and even more important results may be looked for from the abolition of the salt and tobacco monopolies, which greatly interfere with trade, and from the recognition of the principle of a drawback law, by which industrial undertakings importing raw materials not produced in the country can recover the duty paid on exporting the manufactured goods.

Many other laws are in contemplation for improving the situation generally, and further measures may therefore be expected for promoting industry. But for the moment the effect of such measures in the country is hardly perceptible. Not only is the building up of the country a matter which demands much time and labour, but the terrible crisis through which the rest of the world is passing affects Palestine also, since the enterprise and capital which are awaited from abroad are forthcoming only at rare intervals.

The recent general fall in prices has, however, been of advantage to us, as, owing to the greater cheapness of building materials, there has been more building activity. Good workmen can now immigrate freely into Palestine, several building companies have been founded, and it is asserted that before long it will be possible to put up buildings at half the former cost.

A large factory for limestone bricks and asbestos slates is working in Jaffa, a roof-tile factory is being built in Jerusalem, in Jerusalem and in Haifa quarries are soon to be started with machinery and modern appliances, and the erection of a cement factory is being seriously considered. All this will contribute to increase building activity in the country and make it cheaper and easier.

A company has been formed with a substantial capital to carry on the vegetable oil industry on a large scale, and it will soon commence the erection of a factory. One concern is soon to undertake the extraction of salt from sea-water, while another is being formed for the cultivation and preparation of tobacco. The exploitation of the petroleum wells in Kurnub is to be taken in hand again as soon as the political situation is cleared up. Plans have been drawn up for a steam flour-mill, a tannery, and a preserve factory; a furniture factory and a carpet factory are in prospect; and projects are being discussed for various undertakings, of which, no doubt, some will come to fruition. Of quite exceptional importance is the scheme for irrigating the whole of Palestine, and supplying it with electricity. This, if carried out, will, without doubt, completely revolutionize the country, and rouse it from its age-long lethargy.

At the present moment all these undertakings are merely in their initial stage, and much time, money, and labour are needed to bring them to completion, especially as they are worked by foreign companies—almost without exception Jewish. Can these industries succeed in a tiny country like Palestine? Are the requisite conditions present? At the moment when the reconstruction of the country is being undertaken, and when capital and labour are about to be invested there, these questions cannot fail to be of the deepest interest.

For industry to be developed in any country, it is necessary that there should be a sufficiency of raw

materials, access to markets, a supply of fuel and power, and labour at reasonable wages. Are these conditions present in Palestine ?

(1) MARKETS.—In the general uncertainty of the situation, particularly in the countries which formerly belonged to Turkey, nothing definite can be said at present on the question of markets. This complaint is universal, as the whole world is passing through an unparalleled period of crisis. But the uncertainty as to markets cannot last for many years; sooner or later the situation must right itself, and then the enterprising manufacturer will again be able to conquer his markets.

Palestine is too small for us to expect that the home market will absorb the products of its industries within any measurable period of time. It must from the very beginning set its industries on a basis which will enable their goods to compete in the world market. Protective duties only cannot help us. The Jews have carried on international trade for centuries, and have made this their speciality; it is, in fact, largely accountable for their dispersion throughout the world. That is a fact which must be turned to full advantage in the marketing of Palestinian products.

For purposes of international trade, the geographical position of Palestine is not unfavourable. Shipping freights are already approaching the pre-war figure, and the shipping trade of the Syrian coast is beginning to revive.

The Jews in the Near East are comparatively weak. With the exception of textiles and dry goods, they do not dominate trade. But the immigration from Eastern Europe will tend to strengthen their commercial position. The echoes of the war will fade away, and many business men will seek a refuge, via Constantinople and Palestine, in the East, where now, under European protection, life, property, and trade will be more secure than before the war.

While the production of a tiny country like Palestine will never form any considerable percentage of the whole production of the world, Palestinian goods, produced at a reasonable cost, would be able to find their place in the world market. The ties between Palestine and the Jewish communities scattered throughout the world will be of advantage to Palestinian trade, and will tend to secure it exceptional opportunities of expansion. The essential thing is to turn out good work cheaply.

Where shall we obtain the raw materials?

(2) RAW MATERIALS.—These are provided on the one hand by the mineral resources of the country itself, along with the agricultural products which are now being raised or are likely to be raised before very long; on the other hand, by imports from abroad.

Palestine is not conspicuous for mineral wealth, but nevertheless it contains some valuable materials. Good building-stone abounds in the country; in the mountains there are marbled limestone and dolomite, sandstone on the coast, basalt in Galilee and Hauran, and granite in the Arabah Valley.

Pure limestone is to be found almost everywhere, with 96 per cent. of carbonate of lime; also lime marl and clay suitable for the manufacture of cement and hydraulic lime.

Several kinds of clay have been tested for the production of pottery and of bricks and tiles, and have been found well adapted for these purposes.

Gypsum strata are to be found in the Jordan Valley and by the Dead Sea, and only await an enterprising exploiter.

The phosphates of Es-Salt contain 50 to 70 per cent. phosphate of lime, those of the desert of Judea 40 to 50 per cent. They can be used with good effect for fertilizing the soil of Palestine, and so form a valuable aid to the improvement of agriculture.

The sulphur deposits in the southern Jordan Valley

are not large, but they can meet the local agricultural and industrial requirements.

The asphalt of the Dead Sea district is famous for its excellence as an ingredient in paints and varnishes, and its presence in such quantities should give an impetus to this branch of industry.

Of particular importance are the subterranean oil-fields which, according to all indications, are to be found in the country, and also the huge bitumen deposits. We shall have more to say of these in discussing the fuel question.

Copper was mined in the Sinai Peninsula 5,000 years ago, in the days of the first Egyptian dynasty. These copper-mines, in a district adjacent to Palestine, could be used for developing various branches of industry. In Palestine proper, so far as is known, there is very little copper. In any case, the mineral districts of Palestine—in the country south of the Dead Sea, and in the peninsula of Sinai—have been very imperfectly explored.

Of great importance for industry are the minerals of the waters of the Dead Sea. At present it is difficult to turn them to account, owing to the large capital which must be sunk before they can be extracted and the lack of transport. There would seem to be a good case for building a railway to this district, with possibly an extension later to Amman, in order to effect the transport of the large masses of potash, salt, gypsum, and phosphates which exist there now, and to which later will no doubt be added corn and agricultural products. This line could be run at a profit, and it would also be useful as a commercial link between Eastern and Western Palestine.

The waters of the Dead Sea, amounting to about a hundred thousand million cubic metres, are known to contain about 8 per cent. chloride of sodium, 1·5 per cent. chloride of potash, and 0·5 per cent. bromide salt. The consistency increases with the depth, till it becomes nearly half as much again as at the surface. When

the great irrigation works are completed in Palestine, the water which at present flows into the Dead Sea will be diverted and the salt deposits will become still more concentrated, and therefore more easy to exploit.

The Dead Sea neighbourhood is excellently adapted for the development of a large chemical industry. The salt and the cheap water-power supply suitable conditions for the manufacture of soda (caustic soda, carbonate of soda), muriatic acid, etc. Potassium salts are used in large quantities for fertilizing purposes, and form the raw material in the production of potash, saltpetre, and dynamite. Bromide is well known as a valuable article. Here, too, might be located industries for working up the sulphur, the gypsum (of which there are such huge deposits), and the alum salts, and for extracting asphalt. The bitumen in the neighbourhood can be used as fuel. Gas-manufacturing plants for using up the by-products of the bituminous lime of Nebi Musa would be able to supply not only this district, but also Jerusalem, with gas for heating and perhaps also for lighting purposes through pipes. Undoubtedly a great industry like that of Stassfurt in Germany could be built up here, as most of the conditions are present which would assure it a profitable development.

The *agricultural products* of a country depend on its cultivation. Palestine exhibits great diversity of climate and soil, and its flora contains over 3,000 specimens, though some plants are found only in very small numbers. The land lies for the most part fallow, the mountains are treeless, the coast is choked up with sand-dunes or intersected with swamps, the fertile Jordan Valley is a salty waste, and the south and east are swallowed up by the encroaching desert. Only the presence of ruins here and there shows that this was once the home of a nation. Even where the soil is cultivated, the tillage is of a primitive character and yields only a poor return. Naturally, in such circum-

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stances the total production of Palestine stands at a low figure. Estimates for the pre-war years, based on official, semi-official, and commercial data, and including the Vilayets of Beyrout and Damascus (the northern half of which belongs to Syria and the southern to Palestine), gave it as follows:*

<i>Production before the War.</i>	<i>Sanjak of Jerusalem: 21,300 Square Kilometres, 390,000 Inhabitants.</i>		<i>Vilayet of Beyrout (without Lebanon): 30,500 Square Kilometres, 820,000 Inhabitants.</i>		<i>Vilayet of Damascus: 97,700 Square Kilometres, 920,000 Inhabitants.</i>	
	<i>Dunams.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Dunams.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Dunams.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
Wheat	460,000	35,000	1,500,000	120,000	4,000,000	150,000
Barley	400,000	30,000	1,000,000	70,000	1,100,000	80,000
Durra and maize	200,000	15,000	500,000	35,000	250,000	20,000
Sesame	200,000	6,000	250,000	8,000	—	—
Legumes	200,000	10,000	600,000	30,000	1,000,000	50,000
Olives at harvest	—	13,000	—	40,000	—	8,000
Olive oil	—	2,500	—	8,000	—	500
Soap	—	4,000	—	8,000	—	800
Grapes	40,000	25,000	30,000	15,000	250,000	150,000
Oranges	40,000	70,000	—	15,000	—	—
Almonds	30,000	?	10,000	?	—	—
Apricots	?	—	10,000	—	—	100,000
Melons	—	5,000	—	10,000	—	—
Milk	—	4,000	—	10,000	—	20,000
Butter	—	100	—	300	—	1,000
Cheese	—	150	—	1,000	—	1,200
Wool and goats' hair	—	150	—	400	—	2,000
Cocoons ¹	—	—	—	6,000	—	—
Raw silk ¹	—	—	—	1525	—	—

¹ With Lebanon.

Industry must go hand in hand with agriculture in order to procure the requisite raw materials. If industry provides water, fertilizers, and machinery, then the land will be able to yield raw materials in

* From N. Wilbush, "Materialien zum Entwicklung der Industrie in Palästina und Syrien" (unpublished).

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large quantities for all branches of manufacture. We have only to look at our neighbours—Egypt to the south and the districts of Damascus and Beyrout to the north—to realize what high yields can be obtained from all plants with the help of irrigation. Here and there similar results have been obtained by irrigation in Palestine also.

With proper management it is possible to irrigate as much as 600,000 hectares in Palestine. Of this area half would be in the Jordan Valley, and would be irrigated by the waters of the Jordan and its tributaries, which, with storage of the winter waters, could yield over 500,000 cubic metres per hour in the summer season. In this way the arable land north of the Jabbok, the salty tracts, now desert, of the plain of Jericho, and of the southern portion of the Dead Sea border and of the northern Arabah Valley, could be provided with water. By use of the water of the coast rivers and pools, by draining the marshes, by boring wells in the region of shifting sand, and above all by the construction of barrages in the mountains for storing the rain-water, over 300,000 hectares round Acre and in the plain of Esdraelon, and the plains of Saron and Shephelah far into the south, could be irrigated.*

Besides the irrigable tracts, the mountain region, the extensive high plateau of Transjordan, could be cultivated intensively and made to produce large quantities of raw material. When we remember that so rich a country as Egypt possesses no more than about 30,000 square kilometres of cultivable soil, it is not unreasonable to expect that Palestine also may one day be in a position to produce agricultural raw materials in considerable quantities.

Imported Materials.—If industry in the country develops, much raw material can be obtained from

* For further details on this subject, see the extract from my "Materialien," translated in *Palestine*, July, 1920, under the title "Palestine Water Resources."

abroad. Most countries in Europe manufacture raw materials obtained from other countries; even the silk and textile industry of Syria, which before the war employed about 30,000 hand-loom, for the most part wove foreign yarn and raw silk, while the native cotton, silk and wool were exported. Switzerland—to which may be added Italy—builds machinery for export which easily competes on the world markets, while it imports iron and coal from abroad.

Of very great importance for facilitating the entry of this raw material is the Drawback Law already referred to, the principle of which should be extended. By this law the duty on imported raw material will be refunded on the export of the manufactured product. This and similar free trade measures should make it possible for industry, by using modern methods of manufacture, to produce goods at competitive prices for the world market.

(3) FUEL.—There is at present scarcely any fuel in Palestine which could be of use to industry; we depend entirely on imported coal. This state of things, however, will alter with the development of the country. The bituminous lime which has been mentioned above is found in enormous deposits in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea and of the Yarmuk Valley, and in many other places, and all this could be used for the production of gas.

A revolution will one day be effected by the petroleum which, from all indications, stretches under the soil from the Yarmuk to far south of the Dead Sea, and can be obtained in appreciable quantities at a depth of 300 to 500 metres. Investigations were commenced a decade ago, but for various reasons were left incomplete. In the neighbouring Sinai Peninsula petroleum is now actually being obtained, and the production from this source, along with that of Egypt, rose in less than a decade from about 15,000 tons in 1912 to about 230,000 tons in 1919.

A great cheapening of fuel will be effected by the

introduction of petroleum from Mesopotamia, if the projected pipe line to Haifa is laid down.

Another thing that will help to solve the fuel problem is the extraction of peat from the marshes of Huleh. This will be quite feasible when this district has been dried as a result of the irrigation of the Jordan Valley.

It is also not impossible that wood may be used in the country as fuel. Experiments with eucalyptus planting in Hedera have proved that it can pay to grow eucalyptus trees for firing boilers.

With the introduction of an irrigation system, large quantities of water will be obtained for power purposes. According to my estimates, 100,000 to 150,000 horsepower can be obtained with ease, while others estimate the quantity at double. This huge amount of energy is sufficient for any industry which we can imagine springing up in Palestine within a measurable period. A large part of this energy will be required for irrigating the hill country by conveying water to elevated spots. To utilize the energy which will be free at certain periods, plants can be laid down for producing nitrate fertilizer. If this is done, the power supplied by the generating stations can be used to the full, and they can supply industry with cheap energy and assist its progress.

(4) THE LABOUR QUESTION.—The question of labour, and especially of Jewish labour, is an exceedingly thorny one. As the population of Palestine is very small, there is a shortage of labour, and for building up the country immigrants are needed. These will, of course, be Jewish workmen, for to other than Jewish workmen the new Palestine has no meaning. Now, up to the present it must be admitted that the pre-war Jewish workman has not completely adapted himself to local conditions. In most branches of skilled labour the Jewish workman more than holds his own. On the other hand, in unskilled labour, and especially in agricultural routine work, the Jewish worker is often twice as dear as the native Arab,

because his standard of living is higher, while he is not always more productive. Employers in Palestine have mostly imitated the old Arab system, and have taken insufficient trouble to adapt their methods to the capacities of the Jewish element. In some cases the workers have been employed by various Jewish organizations without much regard to the economic value of their labour. The constant inflow of money for which no return was required has led to unpractical efforts, demoralized the people, and raised the cost of living in comparison with the neighbouring countries.

The reproach sometimes levelled against the Jews—that they do not make good workmen—is unjust. Russia alone before the war contained half a million Jewish workmen. It is a fact that the Jew is not afraid of hard labour. The *Chalutzim* have clearly demonstrated this in their work on the roads. Only the Jew, being highly developed mentally, must feel that he is working for an object, whether material or spiritual. When this condition is not satisfied, when his self-sacrificing labour benefits neither himself personally nor the country, his strong sense of individuality impels him to give up work as useless, and to seek his ideal somewhere else.

The problem is a complicated one, but if properly handled it can be solved successfully. This, however, involves an alteration in the whole labour system. The special characteristics of the workmen must be considered; their output must be increased, and their expenses—*i.e.*, the cost of living—diminished.

The example of America, Australia, and other countries shows that it is possible in agriculture, as in industry, to turn out cheap products with highly paid labour. In manufactures this is much easier. With the employment of modern methods and improved machines and implements, wages in Palestine could approach the European level, and make it possible for the workman to maintain a decent standard of living.

On the other hand, the prices of foodstuffs and other goods must be reduced to the level of the neighbouring countries, in order that the workers may be able to make ends meet. In this respect much may be done by co-operative purchasing societies, if conducted by experts.

A complete alteration in the mode of life of the workers could be brought about by the founding of garden cities, where everyone would grow most of his own foodstuffs. With the eight-hour day now usual in industry, it has become possible for the working-man to spend a couple of hours daily in his garden and yard. His family can help, and in this way Jewish girls can be trained. If the State and the colonization societies help the labourer to procure a house and garden without having to pay ready money, and if these settlements are founded and run on proper lines, the working-man will be able to live a proper life, to train his family for work, to be satisfied with less ready money and lower wages, and so to compete successfully in the labour market.

The solution of the labour question is not simple, chiefly because we have to deal with an intelligent labouring class of complex mentality. *A solution will be obtained only when the methods of work are adapted to the men, and not vice versa.* If due regard is paid to personality, and men are placed in the positions best suited to them, the Jewish worker will be able to pull his weight and to take a leading part in the development of Palestine. In order to steer safely through this complicated situation, the workers must go hand in hand with the employers. For just now, while industry in Palestine is in its cradle, and while conditions generally are exceptionally difficult, private enterprise is undoubtedly the best method to promote development. Now, when numbers of capable Jewish employers are being forced to leave Russia and Eastern Europe, there is a chance of winning them for Palestine, provided they can rely on the workers and receive

facilities from the Government and special credits from the industrial banks.

A Jewish industrial bank with a large capital is now highly necessary, as almost all the capitalists of Eastern Europe have been completely impoverished by the combined effects of revolution, Bolshevism, requisitions, currency depreciation, and the appalling slump in trade.

In face of the adverse conditions prevailing, a beginning can be made only by the individual trading for himself; for only such an one can adapt himself sufficiently quickly to the constantly changing situation. The individual has smaller expenses than the joint stock company, and can afford to take greater risks, so that he is enabled to accumulate money much more quickly, and thus constantly to enlarge his business. An industrial bank on the other side by distributing its credits among various individuals and trades, while helping the foundations of various industries, will safeguard the investments of its foreign depositors.

Working-men who realize the situation and sincerely desire the good of the country must support and help the development of industrial capital. Hence support should be given to those who laboriously toil for the increase of the national wealth, making thrifty use of what is called their own capital, and renouncing excessive private gain.

Joint stock companies are advisable only for very large undertakings. They have the disadvantage of an expensive administration, and their bureaucratic management is not well suited to a new country. Another drawback is that the founders of the company usually place themselves at the head of the management, although they are not always really business experts or capable managers. In a new country like Palestine it would be preferable that industrial undertakings should be begun by private individuals, and only when they commence to prosper they should be turned into companies in order to be expanded. Should

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the shares be widely distributed among the people, such an undertaking might be considered a genuine national enterprise.

The workers' co-operative societies have the same drawbacks as the joint stock companies; hence their frequent ill success. The defects of the administration are here even more generally in evidence. It is also a great disadvantage that the co-operative societies are in some cases subsidized from philanthropic funds, as this leads to carelessness in regard to the business side of the undertaking.

None the less, the co-operative method is valuable for many small industrial undertakings, especially for wholesale production. To assure the success of co-operative concerns, it would be advisable for them to combine for a time with private individuals, to whom they could entrust the business management, which is usually very difficult for working-men. They can be turned into companies when, later on, the time comes for enlarging their capital.

Our problem is a very difficult one. We have to deal with a variegated country and an intelligent people. Both are peculiar, both difficult to handle. But if the seed is properly sown, we may look forward to a rich harvest from our rich soil. The beginning is hard, but the future is full of hope.

CREDIT FACILITIES IN PALESTINE*

BY S. HOOFIEN (JAFFA)

FOR the present purpose it will be convenient to distinguish between short-term credit and long-term credit, and to deal with each of these two kinds of credit in relation first to urban and then to rural undertakings. This subdivision will best enable us to see to what extent credit facilities are provided in Palestine at present, and to understand what more is wanted for the future.

I.

At present, practically all short-term urban credit is provided by the banks. The following banks are in existence at the time of writing: The Anglo-Palestine Company, Limited, with branches in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa, Šafed, and Tiberias; the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, Limited, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and the Banco di Roma, all of them with branches in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa; the Crédit Lyonnais, with a Jerusalem office only. The three first-named banks also maintain a few agencies in smaller places like Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Hebron.

The Anglo-Palestine Company, though a British company, with its head office in London, confines its activities to Palestine and Syria, devoting special attention to the promotion of Jewish urban and rural

* This contribution is based on a paper read by the author in 1921 before the Palestine Economic Society, by whose courtesy it has been reprinted, with editions bringing it up to date, from the Society's Bulletin.

settlement. The other banks are branches of well-known European financial institutions.

The business which these banks carry on offers few points of particular interest. All of them receive money on current account and on deposit, buy and sell cheques and securities, and collect bills and documents; and all of them, with the exception of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, discount bills and make advances against goods, guarantees, or other securities.

All the credit to which the ordinary wholesale trade is entitled is provided by these banks, and the competition between them is a sufficient safeguard against unduly onerous conditions. Even so, however, credit is not cheap in Palestine. A discount rate of 9 per cent. may not be surprising in time of financial stress, but even in ordinary times before the war the rate of discount varied between 8 and 9 per cent., and never went down below 7 per cent.

No specific industrial credit is in existence, and until very recently the need of it was scarcely felt. There is so little industry in Palestine that the problem of industrial credit belongs mainly to the future, though, we may hope, a near future.

Credit is less easily obtained by the small retail traders and artisans. Such men often find themselves in need of advances, which, small though they may be, are of cardinal importance to them, and the banks do not offer them that measure of accommodation to which they think themselves entitled. The complaint is a common one in most countries, and the reasons are obvious. Small loans granted by big institutions can seldom be sufficiently supervised, and they entail a degree of risk and cause an amount of clerical work and loss of time out of proportion to any remuneration which can reasonably be expected from the debtor. Hence the foreign banks in Palestine have, as was only natural, shown no inclination to go into this unattractive business, and only the *Anglo-Palestine Company* has felt obliged to give it a fair measure of attention. That

company has met the demand of the small retailer and the artisan in two ways: by granting as many direct loans to individuals as it thought itself able to grant with safety, and by promoting the creation of co-operative credit societies affiliated to itself. During the war, however, most of these societies broke down as such, and the amounts owed by them had to be collected from the individual members. To fill the gap thus caused, the Jewish retailers and artisans have, since the armistice, created a small number of co-operative credit societies not affiliated to the Anglo-Palestine Company, but quite independent. One of these, the Co-operative Bank Kupath Am of Jaffa, shows a tendency to take up general banking business within the limits permitted by its means; the others, called Halvaah Wechissachon (in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa), have so far retained the character of co-operative credit societies. The societies derive their working capital only to a very limited extent from their members. Nearly all of it is provided by deposits specially granted for the purpose by several Jewish institutions, by the deposits of the general public, and by a limited amount of banking credit provided by the Anglo-Palestine Company.

Private bankers do not exist in Palestine, but there is, of course, a certain amount of private money-lending. When the banks curtail their credits, as they did during the recent crisis, those who borrow from private lenders are naturally forced to pay an exorbitant rate of interest; but in normal times the rate of interest demanded by money-lenders from solvent urban clients is only a few per cent. higher than that required by the banks.

Outside the Jewish colonies there is no short-term rural credit in Palestine, except what is offered by the village money-lenders and a number of Effendis. There is little doubt that this private money-lending has in the past been usury of the worst kind. It has

been most detrimental to the agricultural population, and has probably been the basis of most of the big estates. The writer has no material at hand to enable him to judge of its extent at the present time. Probably nothing short of an official inquiry would reveal the facts. This much, however, may be said: that far less complaints are heard now than before the war, probably because the fellah has been able to sell quite a series of crops at good prices, and that the present administration does not supply the rural money-lender with all the means of intimidation that were formerly at his disposal.

In the Jewish colonies a certain amount of private money-lending always went on before the war, but the experience of the war and the post-war period has greatly discouraged the money-lenders, who have found it very difficult to enforce payment by reluctant debtors.

The Anglo-Palestine Company has naturally always taken a great interest in short-term loans of different kinds to the Jewish colonists. It has granted small loans to well-established farmers without any particular guarantee or security, loans to individual colonists guaranteed by sale of crops, loans to colonists' mutual loan societies, and comparatively big loans to the co-operative societies formed for the export of oranges, wine, etc. Its experience with most of these loans has not been wholly satisfactory. At the outbreak of war they remained practically all unpaid, and after the war it was found necessary to transform a considerable part of them into long-term loans. Most of the mutual loan societies shared the fate of the urban societies of this kind and disappeared, and their debts were charged to their individual members. Since the war, further short-term loans have been granted, and although there seems to be no doubt that they are sufficiently safe, they are not an altogether satisfactory form of business. The colonists show little inclination to be punctual in their repayments,

and it is extremely difficult to enforce payment. The colonists complain that a rate of interest of 7 or 8 per cent. is more than they can bear, and the bank, while admitting that the rate is high, finds it unremunerative in view of the risk, trouble, expense, and loss of time connected with these loans.

Until quite recently, organized urban long-term credit did not exist in Palestine. There was no Mortgage Bank, and no mortgage could be registered in the name of a corporate body. The Anglo-Palestine Company has, in a limited number of cases, granted some long-term loans (mostly out of long-term deposits specially put at its disposal for the purpose) to assist the building of houses in Jaffa (Tel-Aviv) and elsewhere. These houses have been built in special Jewish quarters on land registered in the name of one of the bank's directors, and the committees of these quarters keep land registers and mortgage registers in which the mortgages granted to the bank are recorded. In the majority of cases the amount advanced by the bank has been small in proportion to the amount invested by the owner, and the increase in the value of house property has further accentuated the difference. The bank has, therefore, found it possible, where owners were unpunctual in paying their instalments, to collect the amount due to it with the help of a certain amount of moral pressure. It is difficult to say what would happen if it became necessary to foreclose; but no such necessity has so far arisen. This whole branch of the Anglo-Palestine Company's activity was, however, of little importance, and is now a thing of the past.

Recently two Mortgage Banks have been opened, both of which owe their origin to Zionist efforts—the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, Limited, and the Palestine Building Loans and Savings Association, Limited. During the building season of 1922 these two banks between them granted or arranged loans to the amount of about £E. 120,000 on three to four

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hundred houses, and by so doing they have already contributed very materially to the solution of the housing problem.

Organized rural long-term credit is practically non-existent. The Agricultural Bank of the Turkish Government, which was never of much importance, vanished, together with the Turkish authorities, at the time of the occupation, and apparently not even all its books are at present available. In any case, there can be no question of its revival in Palestine. The British Occupied Enemy Territory Administration started a Government agricultural loan scheme in the first half of the year 1919, and under this scheme a certain number of loans for the improvement of land and plantations has been created. This work was interrupted for some time, but has been continued by the present administration on as large a scale as its means permit.

The Anglo-Palestine Company granted before the war a limited number of agricultural long-term loans out of long-term deposits specially put at its disposal for the purpose. Later, after the occupation of Southern Palestine, it granted such further long-term loans as were necessary to put the Jewish plantations into working order; and, as previously mentioned, it transformed a not inconsiderable amount of short-term loans into long-term loans. The mortgages are registered by the colony committees, as in the case of the urban loans. The Anglo-Palestine Company is not, however, granting any further long-term loans at present, nor does it intend to do so in future.

The Jewish Colonization Association, acting on behalf of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, has assisted Jewish colonists, whether or not settled in Palestine by itself, with long-term loans. At present, however, it is granting hardly any such loans, and nothing is known about its intentions for the immediate future. The General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, although under

its memorandum it has taken powers to grant agricultural as well as urban credits, is for the present devoting its attention exclusively to urban credit. Thus the situation as regards rural long-term credit is that the Ottoman Agricultural Bank has vanished; the Anglo-Palestine Company has withdrawn from this field (which for it was never more than a "side-show"); the Government of Palestine is doing something, but admittedly not enough, and cannot be expected to do more; and the Jewish Colonization Association is nearly inactive at present as far as the granting of credits is concerned, and its intentions for the future are unknown.

II.

It remains to consider briefly what it is desirable and possible to do in order to create sound credit conditions in Palestine, dealing with the subject under the same subdivisions under which the present situation has been described.

Short-term credit to wholesale traders has always been supplied in sufficient measure by the banks, and there seems to be no reason to fear that this will not be the case in future. On the contrary, if there is a danger to be feared, it is that, if the country enters on a period of commercial prosperity, the trading community may be offered more credit facilities than are good for it. Already the rather small gap left by the disappearance of the Deutsche Palästina Bank has been filled by the establishment of two other banks (the Anglo-Egyptian Bank and the Banco di Roma); and there is very little doubt that, as soon as the present period of financial stress passes, Palestine will attract a number of other foreign banking interests. Any merchant who can offer a reasonable security will probably find all the credit accommodation that he deserves, and competition between the rival institutions may well enable him to get rather more.

All these banks are, and probably will be for a long time to come, branches of foreign banks. The Anglo-Palestine Company alone, although its capital is technically foreign, may for all practical purposes be regarded as a Palestinian bank. Now it is certainly not good for a country to depend for its banking accommodation on foreign capital and on a management inspired by foreign interests. But in the case of Palestine this evil is unavoidable, and any remedy that could be offered at present would probably be much worse than the disease. Nothing would be easier than to frame legislation that would make Palestine an unattractive field for foreign banking interests; but the legislator would not be able to compensate for his work of destruction by any constructive measure. He cannot create capital, he cannot create managing ability, and he cannot create tradition. So long as the country does not produce these things itself it must take them where it can get them, or do without.

In normal times the evil scarcely makes itself felt, so far as ordinary banking credit to trade is concerned. Sound banking principles will be applied by a foreign bank much in the same way as by a national bank, and the danger that a foreign bank may obtain large sums in Palestine by way of deposits and use or misuse them abroad seems rather remote. One is tempted, indeed, to wish that the economic condition of Palestine were such as to make it necessary to take that possibility into account. But, in fact, it is only in times of financial crisis and of political disturbance that it becomes dangerous for a country to depend mainly on foreign establishments, guided by foreign interests, for the credit which its trade requires. Nor is there any remedy against that danger. You cannot enjoy the boon of foreign credit without its drawbacks. The only thing that can and must be done is patiently to build up a system of national banking; and in Palestine the foundations of such a system have been laid by the Anglo-Palestine Company.

If industrial credit is not, as has been previously pointed out, a problem at present, for the obvious reason that there was not until very recently any industry worth speaking of, it presents, precisely for that reason, one of the most difficult problems of the future. We want industry in Palestine. We shall never be able to develop the country as quickly as we should like, and we shall probably not be able to develop it at all, without industry, small industry in particular. Now industrial credit is a field which for many reasons does not, as a general rule, attract oversea banking. It presents risks, it requires long investments, which no board at home likes its foreign agencies to embark upon, and, above all, it is in itself a function which most oversea banks, consciously or unconsciously, do not consider a desirable one. No doubt they are not merely money-earning concerns; they honestly try to further and to facilitate commercial and financial relations between their own countries and those in which they have their agencies, and take a legitimate pride in promoting the commercial prosperity of these latter countries. But they cannot be expected to educate, encourage, and support at their own expense, and at their not inconsiderable risk, a competitor to their home industries.

The future industry will most probably be mainly Jewish industry. The Arab population has neither the tradition nor, as it seems, the capital for the creation of industries of any importance. The Jews, however, will have to bring with them the capital necessary for any considerable industrial development, or else to be satisfied with very small undertakings. There is no other choice, and it is necessary that this be clearly understood. This does not mean that young industries cannot hope for any credit at all, but the limits of such credit will necessarily be narrow, and nothing comparable with the German or Swiss system of industrial banking can be expected for many years to come. Within these limits there are four sources from

which industry in Palestine can expect some measure of credit.

First, the foreign banks will certainly not suffer any economic doctrine rigorously to limit their activities; and industrial concerns will probably, if they seem safe enough, be able to discount the bills of their clients, and to obtain some advances on products shipped, and perhaps on raw material.

Secondly, there is the Anglo-Palestine Company, which may be expected to take the lead in the granting of this kind of credit, and to stimulate the other banks by its example and competition. The stronger it becomes, the more effectively it will be able to fulfil this function. It will, however, be naturally reluctant to grant other than purely commercial loans, and within the field of industrial credit properly so-called prudence will dictate a slow rate of progress. If industry develops more quickly than the readiness of the banks to provide it with credit, it will have to rely on its own capital. This means, to put it briefly, that it will have to develop on British and not on German lines. This conclusion may seem extremely discouraging in a poor country like Palestine, but it is not so in reality, because the industry of Palestine will draw for its development, not on the capital of Palestine, but on the capital of the Jewish people.

A third source of credit may be found in course of time in the Mortgage Banks.

A fourth source may, perhaps, be provided (the future will show in what measure) by industrial syndicates or finance companies formed by Jewish capitalists who will choose this way of investing their capital in Palestine. A big syndicate of this kind was at one time proposed in Egypt, and a smaller one has been started there. One or two have been started in America, one or two in Rumania, and several were proposed in Russia before that country broke down, and may perhaps be revived at some time. The Economic Board in London, co-operating with the

Zionist Organization, may become, or may establish, the biggest of them.

The small retail traders and artisans will have to look for credit mainly to their co-operative credit societies. The writer, though he is not prepared to endorse all the sanguine expectations of some of the Palestinian advocates of co-operation, readily admits that these societies have a future before them. In the first place, they give some satisfaction to the sentiment of their clients, who like to be independent of the banks, where their modest propositions meet with insufficient consideration; and, secondly—and this is the important point—they form, beyond any doubt, by far the safest way of granting credit to small men, providing, as they do, a measure of knowledge and supervision of every individual client in which no bank can expect to compete with them. But such societies are in danger of destroying themselves by their own development. The better they are managed and the more they prosper, the bigger they become; and the bigger they become the more they will assume the character of general banks, the more they are inclined to grant bigger loans, the more they tend to eliminate the small men from their management committees, the more they lose the guarantee of the mutual supervision of the members, and the more they lose the individual knowledge of each client—in a word, the more they lose all the advantages and characteristics of a co-operative credit society. Italy, the classical country of urban co-operative credit societies, provides several instances of this process. Limitation of scope must therefore be an essential feature of a co-operative credit society.

But where are these societies to find the necessary capital? In most of the discussions concerning co-operative credit in Palestine this cardinal question is left out of account. It cannot be assumed that during the first years the savings of those members who do not need loans will provide the necessary funds

for advances to those members who do; nor have we a thriving peasantry with a network of co-operative societies which could pour their savings through the channel of a central institution into the coffers of the urban societies. Some central institution should be created for the promotion of the co-operative movement in Palestine, and a department of this central institution should for a number of years play the part which in a developed co-operative credit system is played by the central Co-operative Bank. It should provide the societies with the necessary credit, and in exchange should obtain some right of control. All this was urged by the writer long ago, and he is, therefore, particularly happy in being able to mention the recent foundation of the Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions in Palestine, which has already started operations. The means put at the disposal of this bank by its initiators (the Joint Distribution Committee of New York, the Jewish Colonization Association, the American Zionists of the Mack-Brandeis Group, and the Economic Board for Palestine) should be amply sufficient for quite a number of years.

The credit societies, as soon as they are solidly established, may hope to get part at least of their members' bills, endorsed by them, discounted in the ordinary way of banking. This business offers, however, so few attractions that it seems questionable whether foreign banks will consider it.

An exceedingly difficult problem is presented by those artisans and small retail traders who immigrate into the country, and need a small advance to enable them to start work or business. During recent years this problem has been attacked in different ways by the Anglo-Palestine Company, the Zionist Commission, and the relief administrations; but a really satisfactory solution has not been found. That is not surprising. The new-comer is necessarily unknown, and, being unknown, he cannot inspire confidence, and consequently cannot enjoy credit. No well-managed co-operative

credit society will accept a member who arrived yesterday.

As regards the small retail traders, the writer frankly confesses that he sees some advantages in leaving the problem unsolved. We have more than enough of those miserable little shops whose ridiculously small turn-overs, on which numerous families have to live, are largely responsible for the increase in the cost of living. If a man, arriving with little or no means, cannot obtain sufficient credit to enable him to open a petty shop, little harm has been done. Either he turns to some more useful work or he goes away. The latter course seems preferable to his swelling the ranks of unproductive paupers.

The case of the artisan is different. Here we have to deal with a productive and useful element which deserves every encouragement. The artisan will be told that his only salvation lies in joining a producers' co-operative society. The writer, though again more sceptical than the enthusiastic supporters of the co-operative idea, is heartily in favour of the creation of co-operative societies of this kind on a comparatively large scale. They will be able to absorb a number of immigrant artisans, provided the necessary working capital can be found for them. Some workable propositions have been put forward in this connection, but the subject does not enter into the scope of the present article. In any case, however, there will remain a number of artisans—possibly even the majority—who, for whatever reason, will not join a producers' co-operative society. No sound commercial credit can be extended to them, and the colonization institutions will have to provide a fund out of which small loans to such artisans can be granted. The manager or managers of such a fund would have to investigate every application and to supervise carefully every loan granted. This personal investigation and supervision, which, with the growing experience of the managers, would become every year more efficient, would go far

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to take the place of such security as a bank would require. The fund would almost certainly work at a loss, but it would be worth while.

In this connection another source of small credit may be mentioned—namely, lending on pledges. As a private business this form of lending does not enjoy high repute; but as things are, if limited by licence and properly controlled, it can undeniably meet a real need. This need is particularly felt by those who arrive from Eastern Europe with no money or valueless money, but with certain articles of value, and on their arrival in Palestine find to their dismay that banks will not consider the granting of advances on the latter. It is not suggested that immigrants should be encouraged to establish themselves as pawnbrokers; but the Government or some Jewish organization might well open in a few cities public offices where reasonable advances would be made on pledges under strict though not harsh rules. There is an old-established precedent in the action of numerous Governments, municipalities, and other public bodies.

Short-term rural credit will have to depend mainly on the rural co-operative credit societies. In the old-established colonies a few of these societies exist, having survived the war or having been created since the occupation. It is a characteristic fact that the societies which have managed to survive are those which, though connected with the Anglo-Palestine Company, have always retained a considerably higher degree of independence than the others. The fittest have survived. The day of the village societies connected with the Anglo-Palestine Company has passed; but the independent societies, while freeing themselves of a rigid control which did not allow them to develop a feeling of responsibility and self-help, are at the same time giving up the great advantage which in pre-war times formed a valuable compensation—the possibility of applying to the parent bank for

all necessary working capital. However, in the old-established colonies such moderate short-term loans as the individual colonists will want may before very long be supplied out of the deposits and members' contributions; there are, in fact, already one or two quite encouraging instances. The short-term credits which the co-operative societies will require for the sale of their produce—wine, oranges, etc.—will be obtained from the banks without great difficulty. Some measure of individual credit, too, will always be obtainable from the Anglo-Palestine Company, and perhaps from other banks.

Much more difficult, however, is the problem of those colonists who are to settle, or to be assisted to settle, in the future. The co-operative societies, which they are sure to establish in large numbers, will have no funds out of which to grant loans. Nothing can be expected from the foreign banks, and little or nothing from the Anglo-Palestine Company, as it cannot be the business of a commercial bank to assist newly established planters or farmers with credit. The new settlers will, therefore, have to see to it that, if their own means do not suffice, they obtain such a measure of long-term credit as will enable them to get along without further borrowing during the first few years. It would be difficult to suggest any other way. It may, perhaps, be found advisable by the colonization institutions to make advances on easy terms to the new colonists' co-operative societies, but this will have to be done very carefully, lest the societies sink to the level of mere loan agencies for some central body.

The question of loans to the so-called agricultural *Kvutzoth* (labourers' groups) is not dealt with here. The writer has had some experience in this matter, and has arrived at the conclusion that the present methods of supplying the *Kvutzoth* with inadequate working capital in the form of a loan and leaving them under the necessity of trying to find supplementary credit elsewhere is a failure. This view is probably shared by

most of the responsible leaders, and the whole proceeding seems to have been dictated only by pecuniary considerations. The writer thinks that if the system is to continue at all, the *Kvutzoth* should receive from the colonizing institution as much working capital as they really need, and should not have to borrow elsewhere at all.

In this connection the recently established Workmen's Bank may be mentioned. This bank, a creation of the Zionist Organization, through the Jewish Colonial Trust of London, aims at encouraging all those efforts of workmen's groups and organizations which do not find in the ordinary banks such a measure of credit and sympathy as they deem themselves entitled to. This Workmen's Bank will probably be more and more called upon to assist the *Kvutzoth*. It is, however, difficult to see what greater measure of security it will be able to take from them than any other institution could, and it will, therefore, either disappoint those who expect much help from it in this matter, or suffer.

The solution of the problem of urban long-term credit has obviously to be sought in the creation of Mortgage Banks. Very little can be expected from the foreign commercial banks, and the pre-war methods which allowed the Anglo-Palestine Company to grant some modest loans for the purpose of house-building are now obsolete.

Several questions have to be considered in this connection. The first is that of the legal aspect of the matter. Since the Government, acting upon the recommendations of a specially appointed committee, has introduced some of the most necessary reforms, it is possible for private individuals and societies to lend money on the security of immovable property, and to have the mortgages registered in their names in the mortgage registers, which are open to public inspection.

Some further legal measures which will facilitate

and to a certain extent guide the activity of Mortgage Banks have recently been promulgated.

The question of the proper registration in the public land registers of all the private subdivisions of big plots registered in the name of one single *prêtenom* has been under consideration for about two years, and will, it may be hoped, be satisfactorily settled at an early date. No Mortgage Bank will, of course, lend money on any but a proper legal document, and the old system of unofficial Jewish land registers will have to go. Either their contents will have to be transferred to the ordinary registers, or they will have to be taken over by the authorities, after due inspection and revision.

There has been some discussion of the question whether there should be separate urban and rural Mortgage Banks. The main argument that has been used in favour of such a separation is that the management of a single bank might easily be induced to neglect rural credit in favour of urban, as the latter offers better security, less work, and higher remuneration. Apart from the fact that all those truths are relative, the writer is of opinion that at present the need of proper provision for urban credit is so crying that little harm would be done if special attention were paid to this branch of the work for the next few years. If the management committee of the Mortgage Bank is properly chosen, there seems to be little danger that rural credit would be neglected.

Before very long one may hope that with some gentle pressure (in which the Government may be helpful) life insurance societies working in Palestine will invest the reserves of their Palestinian policy-holders in that country, and in that case they will scarcely find a better form of investment than urban mortgages.

It does not seem probable that any soundly managed urban Mortgage Bank will completely fulfil the high expectations which are entertained of it at

present. Immigration on a big scale must necessarily cause, even where the legislator or the tax-gatherer takes a hand in the matter, a somewhat unsettled real estate market, and a prudent Mortgage Bank, in fixing its margins, will discount the effect of bad times to a greater extent than the general public imagines.

The necessity of an Agricultural Mortgage Bank has been one of the favourite topics of discussion within the Zionist movement for over ten years, and as early as 1910 a Mortgage Bank was founded under Ottoman law by the Zionists. This bank, however, did not actually come into existence. The formation of a comparatively big Palestine Agricultural Bank is known to be one of the favourite ideas of the present Government, but this idea, again, has not yet materialized. There has never been any doubt that Palestine in general, and the Jewish settlement in particular, wants long-term agricultural loans, supplied by one or more credit banks; but an entirely new problem has arisen in recent years, and remains still unsolved. The question is whether Palestine, Arab as well as Jewish, can use agricultural credit at such rates as the present market conditions would necessitate. The suggestion that the Government should fix a maximum rate of interest, although it has been put forward quite seriously, may be set aside as childish, unless the Government is prepared to pay for such generosity, which apparently it is not. Can a Palestine Mortgage Bank hope at present to issue debentures at par at a rate of interest less than 6 to 7 per cent.? And can it, therefore, promise to grant loans at a rate less than 8 to 9 per cent.? Can such loans be put to good use? The writer is inclined to answer the first two questions in the negative, but he hesitates to reply to the third. He has, however, always been told by agricultural experts that agriculture can never bear the rate of interest demanded by commercial banks in Palestine, which is just 8 to 9 per cent. However this may be, there

seems to be no reason for despair. Either the rate of interest will go down, or agriculture—so one may hope—will learn to adapt itself to economic conditions as they are.

The question then arises whether there shall be one Palestinian Agricultural Bank, or whether the formation of more than one should be allowed. There seems to be a body of opinion in favour of one single bank, but the writer has not heard any sound argument in support of this curious monopoly. If agricultural credit in Palestine can be made a business proposition, why should not two, three, or more banks cater for clients? Is it imagined that their competition might harm the borrowers? There is, perhaps, one argument which deserves consideration. It might be contended that, Palestine being a small country, one single Agricultural Bank might, perhaps, be big enough to attract some attention in the international investment markets, and to place its debentures; but two or more banks would necessarily be much smaller, and would have proportionately smaller chances of success in this respect. Against this, it must be observed that the debentures of even a single Palestinian Agricultural Bank, holding a kind of monopoly, would for many years to come be considered by foreign investors as a somewhat speculative risk, and would attract them only by offering a corresponding rate of interest. But if a good rate of interest is paid, two or three banks may succeed as well as one. If the rate of interest is to be lowered, this can be done for the present only by introducing the factor of sentiment. This factor exists only with the Jews, and it will evidently operate only in favour of a bank specially devoted to Jewish settlement, not in favour of one which can apply only a small proportion of its means to that object. Now, if any agricultural credit should be cheap, it should certainly be the credit supplied to new settlers, who will have in any case a sufficiently hard struggle. They cannot afford to miss any advantage that they can possibly

obtain, and for this reason, if for no other, they should get their loans from their own bank, which may hope to supply them more cheaply than a general bank. Apart from this, new colonization requires special accommodation and a type of management and supervision specially adapted to it.

There are some political arguments in favour of one single bank which deserve consideration. It might prove worth while to try to reconcile them with the reasons mentioned above in favour of a special Jewish Agricultural Bank. The problem is still open, as the (Jewish) General Mortgage Bank of Palestine has not yet turned to agricultural credit.

The existing loans of the Anglo-Palestine Company and the Jewish Colonization Association might well form the foundation stock of a Jewish Agricultural Bank. In a great number of cases the same colonist is indebted to both these institutions. An adjustment of interest and other conditions, which, though not easy, is still quite feasible, would have to be carried through. The writer is convinced that, when once this amalgamation is seriously considered, its advantages for all parties concerned will be recognized.

PROBLEMS OF LAND DEVELOPMENT

BY DR. JACOB THON (JERUSALEM)

I. LEGAL OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

THE British administration has maintained Ottoman law in regard to land ownership, as in so many other legal matters. Nevertheless, as we shall see, several important changes have been introduced in administrative practice. Ottoman law recognizes the following three classes of land tenure: *Mulk*, *miri*, and *wakf*.

Mulk is the only form of tenure corresponding to ownership of an unlimited character, such as is known in European law. It is in this case alone that the owner can deal with the land as his own property without the intervention of the State. In the case of *miri*, the land is regarded as the property of the State, and the owner merely as the leaseholder. Alienation of *miri* land can, therefore, only take place with the consent of the State. Hence the custom, when *miri* land changes hands, for the Governor to be represented, in addition to the Land Registry officials. *Miri* differs also from *mulk* in regard to taxation and the rights of the owner of the adjoining land. The major portion of the soil of Palestine, like other Turkish provinces, is *miri* land. The *mulk* consists as a rule only of immovable property created by the owner's own exertions, such as houses, wells, or trees. Land without an owner (dead land) may also be considered State property, inasmuch as the consent of the State is necessary before possession is taken of it. *Wakf* land is the land belonging to pious foundations, which under Ottoman law had special privileges. Alienation of

wakf lands is a difficult matter, involving special guarantees. The differences between *miri* and *mulk* land were already almost negligible at the time of the British occupation, and accordingly the complicated formalities connected with the transfer of both these kinds of land were abolished. Under the Turkish régime land transfer was a complicated and wearisome business. To-day, as in all other modern countries, it has become a simple legal act in which the Land Registry fulfils the functions of registration only.

The British administration has also introduced the conception of legal persons, which was unknown in the Ottoman law. Under the latter, corporations could not purchase land in their own names, but were compelled to use nominees. For instance, churches were entered in the names of the priests, Jewish National Fund land and the land of the Jewish Colonization Association in the names of their directors or officials. As regards *wakf*, this has been left practically untouched, in accordance with British respect for religious institutions. The only changes made under this head are such as were recognized as necessary by Mohammedans themselves. *Wakf* was under the jurisdiction of the Mohammedan religious court (*Mehkeme-Sharia*). The chairman of this court (the Cadi) administered, not only Mohammedan *wakf*, but also the pious foundations of other religious bodies. Under British administration, secular interference, which was fairly frequent in Turkish days, has been entirely ruled out. Further, the administration put an end to the anomaly whereby Christian and Jewish lands were administered by Mohammedan authorities. Such lands are now under the control of Christian bodies in the case of Christian lands, and of the Rabbinate and the communal representatives in the case of Jewish lands.

One of the important tasks which still await the administration is the establishment of a reliable Land Registry. The entries in the Turkish *Tabu* are untrustworthy. Plans are only occasionally attached to the

entries for purposes of identification. The descriptions of the lands transferred are very seldom correct. In order to reduce the amount of taxation, owners returned the dimensions of their property at much less than the real dimensions. The utmost chaos prevails in this regard. Thus a piece of land of 2,000 dunams* may be entered as measuring only a few hundreds or even as one or two dunams. Only Jewish and German-owned lands are correctly entered and provided with proper plans. Other entries are correct only as regards boundaries; for all other particulars, reliance has to be placed upon the personal knowledge of the villagers, especially of the oldest inhabitants. The British administration is now engaged on a cadastral survey. It is to be regretted that this work has been delayed, owing to the smallness of the Palestine Government Budget.

A Land Court has also been established, to which complicated land questions will be referred. The land in Palestine is not, as a rule, clearly divided among the villagers in such a way that each individual has a definitely recognizable portion. On the contrary, the land often belongs to a village as a whole, and each individual has a theoretical portion belonging to himself. The village land is, moreover, divided into different categories, and each category into numerous theoretical parts, which, through inheritance and other forms of alienation, are subdivided into minute portions. The subdivision and the exact position of the boundaries are not recorded in any official register, but depend upon the knowledge of the villagers. Thus, if the exact ownership of a given piece of land has to be investigated, the search must go back for many years, so as to clear the title to the property of many claims which have originated during the period, owing to death, marriage, or sale, etc., at the hands of former owners. The Land Court, working upon the basis of an accurate survey, should be able, within a few years, to establish the exact ownership of land.

* One dunam = 1,098·765 square yards (about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre).

II. STATISTICAL DATA.

(a) The total area of land west of the Jordan is about 18,000 square kilometres. No details are available regarding the division of this area into cultivated and cultivable land, but it is generally estimated that only about 9,000 square kilometres are cultivable. Of this, according to the report of Colonel Sawer, Director of the Agricultural Department, only one-quarter is cultivated. There are also no statistics available as to what proportion of the land is in the hands of large land-owners, and how much is in small holdings. Private estimates give the proportion of land owned by large land-owners as follows:

Southern Palestine	..	..	3,608,000 dunams.
Judæa	..	..	301,000 „
Samaria	..	..	235,000 „
Lower and Upper Galilee	..	..	558,000 „
Total ..			4,702,000 „

These large land-owners do not cultivate their land. As a rule, they are absentee landlords who have leased their land to urban estate agents, who do business with the peasants by buying their produce. These agents sublet the land to sub-agents or direct to the peasants.

(b) *Djiftlik* is land which belonged to the family of the Sultan before the Young Turkish revolution. It was then expropriated, together with other property of Abdul Hamid, and is now the property of the Palestine Government. *Djiftlik* land is found in the following districts:

Southern Palestine	..	..	155,661 dunams.
Judæa	..	..	26,852 „
Lower Galilee	..	..	704,000 „
Upper Galilee	..	..	66,023 „
Total ..			952,536 „

(c) *Land owned by Jews.*—To the west of the Jordan there are more than 600,000 dunams of Jewish-owned land, subdivided according to the following districts:

Southern Palestine	..	..	6,000	dunams.
Judæa	..	..	149,816	„
Samaria	..	..	143,633	„
Emek Israel (Vale of Jezreel)	..	..	99,863	„
Lower Galilee	..	..	97,447	„
Upper Galilee	..	..	90,031	„
				<hr/>
Total	..	..	586,790	„
In or near towns, or for town extension or garden city settlements, roughly				
	..	..	20,000	„
				<hr/>
Total	..	..	606,790	„

As all the above land is cultivable, it follows that the Jews own 7 per cent. of the cultivable land, and about 14 per cent. of the cultivated land, west of the Jordan.

One of the most important tasks of the British administration is to promote the cultivation of uncultivated land. Up to the present time very little progress has been made in this direction. No change has yet been made in regard to *djiftlik* lands, of which, according to Government figures, only about one-third is cultivated. As regards dead lands, which could, although at great expense, be made fertile, to the advantage of the country as a whole, practically no progress has been made. Many experts have maintained that sand dunes constitute a menace to neighbouring cultivated land, owing to their tendency to encroach inland. The Turkish Government realized the necessity for improvements in this regard, and Jemal Pasha, in spite of his anti-Jewish tendencies, which made him prohibit Jews from holding land, nevertheless authorized the allocation of a large stretch of sand dunes bordering on Rishon-le-Zion to the members of that colony for the purpose of cultivation. This act of Jemal Pasha has been ratified by the British administration, but

the land in question has not yet been finally handed over to the colony.

It is well known that malaria is the chief scourge of Palestine. This disease could easily be eradicated by the draining of swamps. This work, although costly, has the twofold advantage of improving the land and of reclaiming new land. The Zionist Organization has always considered it indispensable to drain marshes before beginning to establish a new settlement, as, for example, at Nuris and Malul in Emek Israel. This step towards sanitation is, however, only of value if it covers all the swamps in the neighbourhood. Thus the indispensable preliminary for the thorough sanitation of a district is the drainage of all the neighbouring swamps. For this purpose the help of the Government is necessary in obtaining the consent of the owners to the drainage and, wherever possible, their participation in the cost. This is well known to the British officials of the department concerned, but up to the present no practical steps have been taken. The Government has not even granted permission to reclaim Government land, nor has it yet granted the 1,000 dunams required for the purpose of maintaining an experimental station on the Lake of Tiberias.

III. LAND PROBLEMS AND JEWISH COLONIZATION.

The land problem is fundamental to any consideration of Jewish colonization. The expectation that the Government of Palestine would facilitate the grant of lands (especially *djiftlik* and uncultivated lands) for the settlement of Jews has not been realized up to the present. Accordingly, Jewish institutions have concentrated on the purchase of land in the open market. These purchases of land have had the effect of influencing the Arab land-owners in favour of Zionist purchasers, from whom they obtain considerable profits. The British administration has introduced many improvements and greater security in all land transactions.

The largest purchaser of land for Jewish colonization is Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who owns 40 per cent. of the total area of land in Jewish possession. The Jewish National Fund is the second largest purchaser, and owns about 80,000 dunams. The Jewish National Fund endeavours to use all its resources exclusively for land purchase, and to cut out of its budget all such expenditure as that on house-building, tree-planting, etc.

The work of the Jewish National Fund is based on an idea which is as old as the world—the idea that land is not the property of the individual, but of the nation as a whole. The purchases themselves are not made by the National Fund, but by a company established for that purpose, and known as the Palestine Land Development Company. This company is the purchasing agency of other companies and persons. The company has in recent years purchased the following areas:

(a) *Agricultural Land :*

			<i>Dunams.</i>	£
Southern Palestine	..	..	5,621	2,315
Judæa and Plain of Sharon	..	..	22,118	34,696
Jerusalem district	..	..	5,364	16,208
Samaria	..	..	16,227	21,189
Vale of Jezreel	..	..	90,349	378,758
Lower Galilee	..	..	10,145	12,730
Purchases not yet completed	..	..	46,000	241,500
Total	..	..	195,823	707,396

(b) *Building Land :*

			<i>Square Metres.</i>	£
Jerusalem	..	..	511,262	222,060
Jaffa	..	..	2,027,742	61,152
Haifa	..	..	5,301,666	195,000
Purchases not yet completed	..	..	4,595,000	36,000
Total	..	..	12,435,670	514,212

Land purchase in Palestine must accommodate itself to the conditions prevailing, and at present the Jewish public is more interested in urban settlements

than in rural colonization. Agricultural development is, however, and must remain, the basis of the regeneration of Palestine, and efforts to promote it must be maintained. Schemes are under consideration for facilitating the settlement of the *Chalutzim* on the land by utilizing the capital of investors who are satisfied with a moderate return.

In the south of Palestine the soil is either uncultivated or very sparsely cultivated. The peasants in this region are nomadic, and wander from place to place, cultivating now one small tract of land, now another. The difference in yield between this extensive cultivation and the intensive system is immediately apparent on a comparison of the harvest formerly yielded with what is obtained to-day, and the number of people formerly supported with the present population. Both Rishon and Rechoboth formerly belonged to a few Bedouin, who reaped a very scanty harvest of barley, and pitched their tents only during the sowing and harvest seasons. Nowadays there are living in the same area over 1,000 families, who give employment to about an equal number of people from the neighbouring villages. A piece of land which was formerly waste has now 420 houses, and a large wine-cellar comparable to those of Europe. These two colonies, which, when purchased, were worth about £9,000, are now worth £1,200,000. They yielded before they were bought about £25 per annum in taxes, whereas to-day they pay about £20,000 per annum to the Government. The same transformation has taken place at Petach Tikvah and Chedera, where swamps were drained at great cost both in men and money, and their places taken by forests. Another colony, one of the most recent, Ruchamah, which was established just before the war, was formerly mere desert, but became during the war an oasis for the Turkish and English armies, the only spot in a large area where wells, provided with pumps and water-pipes, supplied water for soldiers and animals.

Palestine cannot be developed any further on its own resources. Very considerable capital is required to develop the country as Egypt has developed, thanks to the immense sums invested there. But Palestine cannot compete with wealthy Egypt, which attracts capital from all parts of Europe. The English tax-payer protests against every penny which is spent in Palestine. The only people who have the will to develop the country are the Jews, who have not only the necessary capital, but also knowledge and the pioneer spirit. By the introduction of new methods, such as dry farming, by the scientific preparation of seeds, by the utilization of water-power, the productive power of the land is increased to the benefit of the whole population, so that there can be no question of the dispossession of any section of it. With scientific methods, ten dunams of irrigated land, whether as an orange plantation or sown with fodder or vegetables, can sustain as many people as two or three hundred dunams of the exhausted or unfertilized land of the Bedouin.

The great improvements which have already been introduced under the British régime must be followed by general progress, especially in the department of agriculture. The railways cannot be profitable so long as they cross tracts of desert. The land must be closely settled, and then the conveyance of men and goods by rail will become a necessity. The development of the towns in recent months has been very striking. Tel-Aviv has had 300 new houses built during the past year, which provided direct or indirect employment for about 2,000 people. Haifa, too, shows the same signs of development in house-building. In Jerusalem a new commercial quarter is in prospect. All these urban developments are assisted by the Mortgage Banks which have recently been introduced into Palestine. The promotion of agriculture requires the establishment of an Agricultural Bank to promote trade relations between settlers. Close co-operation between the Jewish National Fund, which will make

grants of land at small outlay, a Colonization Fund, which will train settlers in agriculture, and an Agricultural Bank, which will make loans to suitable settlers on security of their homesteads and machinery, together with strong agricultural trade unions on the one hand, and investment companies providing capital for land purchase and the direction of agricultural enterprise on the other—all these are indispensable if the country is to be developed quickly and on sound lines.

LAND SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE

BY S. E. SOSKIN

INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

IT is commonly believed that the degree of intensity of agriculture varies with the density of population; the more dense the population of a country, the more intensive is the use of its soil. But this conclusion is not correct. A comparison of the conditions of land-ownership in China, Europe, America, and Australia shows that the method of cultivation and the direction which it takes vary strictly with the system of land-ownership.* Where the land is owned by a small number of people, as in England, the Dominions, America, and in most countries where very large farms are the rule, cultivation is bound to be extensive. A large part of the land is used as pasture, and corn and cattle fodder are the main products of agriculture. Intensive cultivation requires a very large amount of labour spent on the unit of land. The smaller the plot, the more intensive the cultivation.

What the soil can produce will be seen by a glance at the intensively cultivated gardens and fields of Western Europe and Eastern Asia. Kropotkin cites the orchard of M. Ponce, the author of a well-known work on the "Culture Maraichère." This orchard, covering only $2\frac{7}{10}$ acres, was cultivated by eight persons, and produced (to name only the chief items of the crop) more than 20,000 lb. of carrots, more than 20,000 lb. of onions, radishes, and other vegetables sold by weight,

* For details see the author's "Bed Cultivation of Cereals," reprinted from *Erez Israel*, No. 4.

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6,000 cabbages, 3,000 cauliflowers, 5,000 baskets of tomatoes, 5,000 dozen of choice fruits, and 154,000 lettuces—in short, a total of 250,000 lb. of vegetables and fruit. Of course, to be able to produce these quantities near Paris, he required, besides a large amount of manure, the help of frames, glass, conservatories, and of a steam engine for watering purposes—in short, an elaborate installation and a whole arsenal of implements. But the quantity of produce grown by an *average* Chinese farmer, without the use of any artificial installation, is even higher. Eugène Simon, in his “*La Cité Chinoise*” (Paris, 1885), gives the following figures of the yield of an average Chinese farm of $4\frac{4}{5}$ acres, worked by six men and two or three women: 2,200 lb. of rice, 4,600 lb. of wheat, 3,500 lb. of tea, 660 lb. of large beans, 350 lb. of maize, 640 lb. of oil, 400 lb. of buckwheat, 500 lb. of sugar, 400 lb. of tobacco, 11,000 lb. of yams, 21,000 lb. of mangel-wurzels, 33,000 lb. of cabbages, eighty pieces of cotton cloth, 21,300 lb. of clover, 2,400 lb. of oilcake, 35,600 lb. of straw of various kinds, besides vegetables and fruit. The farmyard produced, in addition, 12 young pigs, 4 kids, 150 chickens and ducklings, and 3,500 eggs. With the exception of three-quarters of an acre, the whole farm was irrigated.

These results of intensive cultivation, both in the West and in the East, are unknown at present in Palestine, for the simple reason that nobody has even a knowledge of the possibilities of such cultivation. The governing idea is farming in the manner of the Arabs; and Jewish colonists have farmed in that way up to the present, with some improvements, especially by the use of machinery and implements introduced from America. What is the result? Palestine imports wheat and flour from Australia, vegetables from Egypt, poultry from Cyprus! It is a great pity this should be so.

Palestine, a small country with abundance of sunshine and no frost, is eminently suited for intensive

cultivation. It can and should become a country of small-holders, cultivating the soil with that degree of intensiveness which is made possible by its climate, by the best use of modern scientific methods, and by an up-to-date organization of co-operative societies. Palestine not only can and should produce sufficient fruit, vegetables, eggs, poultry, cotton, tobacco, silk, and grain for its own growing population; it should become an exporting country of *primeurs*—early potatoes, tomatoes, onions, grapes, bananas, and other fruit—canned fruit and vegetables, eggs and poultry.

The present writer's scheme of close settlement for Palestine* contemplates colonies consisting of 500 families, and based upon the intensive cultivation of small irrigated plots of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres each. Owing to the small size of the individual lot, it will be possible to establish a large colony on a comparatively small area; only 750 to 800 acres would be needed for a colony of the size proposed. This colony would contain a large number of market gardeners, several poultry farmers, and several tobacco planters, while others would devote themselves to the cultivation of mulberry trees, silk production, etc. Each settler should cultivate only a few of the principal products (other than the various vegetables, fruit, and poultry for his own use), so that groups of settlers could produce large marketable quantities. A co-operative organization should be formed *before* the settlers start cultivation, even before the colony is founded. This organization should assist the settler in every possible way to hasten the completion of his installation—experience in Australia has proved that the greatest number of failures occurred where the period of installation lasted longer than two years—and thus to speed the development of the colony. Aid in money alone is not enough; efficient management, teaching of the methods of intensive

* For fuller details see the writer's "Small-Holding and Irrigation: The New Form of Settlement in Palestine" (published by the Jewish National Fund, 1921).

agriculture, help in building houses and in preparing the market for the produce, are no less important than money.

If a settlement on these lines is *properly prepared in advance*—which involves the preparation of the soil for irrigation, building of roads, fencing, the making of wells or ditches and canals, plans for the houses, contracts with builders, and even planting and sowing before the family arrives, so as to avoid a failure in the first year, which is the most dangerous period—then, and only then, it will be possible to settle a family for a sum of £300 to £400. The main expense will consist in the building of a house; all the other items are insignificant. The settler on a small plot does not want large stables, or machinery, or horses or cows. A few goats and some poultry and a small stable and a shed for his implements and seeds are all that he needs. The other necessities—stores with refrigerating plants, a creamery or dairy, a cannery, etc.—will be built by the co-operative organization for the general use of the settlers. What the individual wants is expert management and an open mind for the teachings of the superintendent. He will then succeed.

STATE AID IN LAND SETTLEMENT.

Experience of private colonization almost throughout the world has proved that it is neither cheap nor efficient, whether it be conducted on business lines (in which case it has proved a burden too great for beginners) or by philanthropy (in which case, even if successful, it remains a very restricted and limited undertaking).

The success of internal colonization in most countries nowadays is mainly to be attributed to State aid, which does not confine itself to the ordinary development of the land—road making, railway construction, harbour building, sanitation, etc.—but makes special efforts towards the settling of men on the soil. How far

State aid goes in some of the countries concerned will be gathered from the following data.

Denmark began as far back as 1894 to study the question of rendering agricultural workmen independent "housemen"—i.e., small-holders. A special commission was entrusted with the preparation of a law to help labourers to buy farms. The first law was passed in 1899 as an experiment for five years only. It granted a sum of 2,000,000 Kroner (about £100,000) a year for the purpose of providing loans, originally to farm-labourers only. This law formed the basis of the later laws of 1904, with a yearly fund of 3,000,000 Kroner; of 1909, with 4,000,000 Kroner; and of 1914, with 5,000,000 Kroner.* In the last-named year it was extended to country mechanics, artisans, and others who had supported themselves for at least four years after their eighteenth year. The loan value of a holding was originally 4,000 Kroner, but was subsequently increased to 16,000 Kroner, owing principally to the increased price of land. Nine-tenths of the loan value can be borrowed by the farmer at 4 per cent.† interest, including $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for sinking fund, so that the debt is repaid in sixty-five years. The demand for farms increases steadily, and is at present far beyond the supply, "and as the Government cannot provide the money needed to finance settlement, it is being more and more financed by the private banks."‡

Spain promulgated in 1907 a law for internal colonization—*Ley de Colonización y Repoblación Interior*—which aimed at stopping the flight of the Spanish farm-labourer, not only to the cities, but abroad—to North and South America. The first colony was founded about 1910. Amongst the provisions of the

* I follow here the summary of the effects of this law by Mr. Pedersen-Nyskov, a Danish M.P., cited both by Elwood Mead in his book, "Helping Men Own Farms," and by Sir Rider Haggard in his "Rural Denmark and its Lessons" (Longmans, Green and Co., 1917).

† Until 1914, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

‡ Elwood Mead, "Helping Men Own Farms," p. 49.

law, one rule worth special mention is that every colony must form a co-operative society. Another important condition is that each settler's house has to be built on the plot itself. A similar measure is proposed in the writer's scheme for Palestine,* and it would save the settler about two hours a day, or 20 per cent. of his working time, which is spent at present in the Palestinian colonies in going to and from the fields or gardens.

Particularly interesting are the methods of State-aided colonization in the Australian State of *Victoria*. Here the influence of the Government has been most far-reaching, and the results have been the most gratifying. The Commission which was sent to investigate the conditions and results of State-aided colonization in Europe thought it advisable that the Government should help the settler in many ways: by lending him money, buying and preparing the land, building or buying houses or temporary barracks, buying stock, sowing fields, etc. Under the Victorian Land Settlement Act, which was passed in 1909, an annual amount of £300,000 was made available for close settlement. The land was bought during the years 1909-1915 by private bargaining, the price usually being fixed at twenty times the average income received by the owner from the land during the three to five years prior to the sale. Group settlement was looked upon as one of the most important conditions; a settlement had to consist of at least 100 families, and 500 was regarded as the most desirable size.

The Government directed the settlers in every phase of their economic activities, and the superintendent was before long a most important figure and much in demand. The common sense of the settlers soon discovered how useful was the advice and instruction of the expert. In addition to this, the Government built and maintained a large cold-storage warehouse in Melbourne, where perishable products could be sent

* See "Small-Holding and Irrigation."

and chilled previous to shipment to Europe; it even took charge of shipping goods for individual sellers, if requested by them. It lent money to co-operative societies for building factories for bacon-curing, and bought and established factories for canning and drying fruit. All possible practical help was given to the settlers by the Government, with the idea that they should "*in as short a time as possible take hold of and manage things themselves, that some of them as soon as possible would be placed on the boards that looked after the settlements.*"

The need of expert advice and adequate management cannot be too often insisted on. They are necessary, not only for new-comers without knowledge and experience, but also for farmers from Europe, and even more for them than for men from the towns, who do not bring with them agricultural conservatism. The special character of intensive agriculture requires greater knowledge than simple extensive corn-growing and stock-keeping, and knowledge of a different kind. But earlier agricultural experience is, of course, useful, and in Denmark special schools for small-holders have been established, where they are taught how to make more of their land than the large estate-owners do. In Victoria, experience proved that the sons of tradesmen, artisans, and shopkeepers, who left cities like Melbourne as soon as the good results of intensive cultivation became evident, took their places amongst the best of the farmers. "Lack of experience was more than made up for by mental alertness and freedom to adopt new ideas and practices. They became the best pupils of the superintendent."*

It was of enormous value to *California* that the former chairman of the Victorian commission in charge of land settlement—Elwood Mead—became the chairman of the board which directed the State-aided colonization in that State. California was thus able to profit by the whole of the experience gained in Australia, to

* "Helping Men Own Farms," p. 91.

which Mead refers in a number of statements in his report on land settlement in Australia and California, styled by him "a practical discussion of Government aid in land settlement."

Guided by the Victorian and other experiences, the State of California made a beginning with State-aided colonization in 1917 by creating a Land Settlement Board, to which the legislature advanced a sum of 260,000 dollars (£65,000), of which 10,000 dollars were set apart for preliminary expenses, and had not to be repaid. The remainder—250,000 dollars—was lent at 4 per cent. interest, to be repaid in fifty years. The board bought with this money 6,300 acres of land near Durham, a station on the Southern Pacific and Northern Electric Railroads. Part of the land was paid for in cash, part in instalments. The total cost of the land was 242,000 dollars. After paying for the land, the Board had only 50,000 dollars left of the loan granted by the Government. A loan of 125,000 dollars was obtained from the Federal Land Bank. This loan was given to an association of settlers at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and they had to repay the amount in thirty-four and a half years. With this money at its disposal, the Board started planning and preparing the land for irrigation. It hired and bought teams and implements; land was levelled, ploughed, and sown with alfalfa (lucerne) and grain. The board was thus able to offer settlers farms already working. To quote Mead again: "Farms with growing crops looked good to experienced settlers. There was an income in sight. When they looked at the grain and alfalfa fields, they saw food for their stock. They saw money coming in to help meet the large expenses for improvements. On the land made ready for irrigation they could begin to farm; that is the kind of work they understood and enjoyed doing. Preparing land for irrigation is the work, not of a farmer, but of an engineer. Leveling fields and throwing up borders requires a knack and a skill gained only by long experience; the work can

be done cheaply and well only by an outfit of teams and implements that the small farmer cannot afford. To get farms with all or even a part of this preparatory work done was such a great boon to settlers that the improved farms were always the first choice."

One further lesson to be learnt from the experience of Governmental land settlement in different countries is connected with the acquisition of land for the new settlements. In ordinary course, when there is known to be a demand for land, the price of land soon rises rapidly. We have already to face this phenomenon in Palestine. The remedy is to fix the price to be paid for land on what can be made from its cultivation, as advocated by Elwood Mead. Taking 5 per cent. as the income basis, the price of the land ought to be calculated by multiplying by twenty the *net* income from crops—*i.e.*, the income remaining after deduction of taxes, cost of upkeep, and labour. The purchase price of *unimproved* land, which in its present state is not able to produce crops, should be calculated by taking the cost of improvement and equipment of a farm into account. If we admit this principle, which is, no doubt, a sound one, the present prices for unimproved land in Palestine are far too high.

HOW TO FINANCE AND DIRECT CLOSE SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE.

Palestine is a thinly populated country with a maximum of agricultural possibilities. It could support a far larger number of inhabitants if it were properly developed. Private colonization has shown itself to be very slow and too costly, and it will become even more costly, and therefore slower, if it is continued on the lines hitherto followed and left to itself. But the people of Palestine, represented by its Government, desire the awakening of the country from the stagnation in which it has lain during the long rule of the Turk. In this matter there can be no difference of opinion

amongst the different creeds and races of Palestine; and there is only one way to achieve this object—the rapid development of the natural resources of the country by close land settlement, made possible by intensive cultivation. The Government, in addition to controlling transport, building new harbours, and providing for popular education and for the sanitation of the country, should direct land settlement. That is a function which can be satisfactorily fulfilled only by the Government, as we have seen from the experience of so many other countries. The Government, however, ought not only to direct, but also to finance land settlement.

No large amounts are needed for financing colonization. Denmark began its small-holding scheme with only 2,000,000 Kroner, equal to £100,000 a year. Spain's contribution was 1,500,000 Pesetas—i.e., £60,000; Victoria gave £300,000 a year, and California assigned to the Board for Land Settlement a loan of 250,000 dollars, which corresponds to £60,000. We have seen how much has been done in all these countries with a little money.

There is, however, a way suggested by Sir Rider Haggard* for British colonization in Canada which requires far less money. His method is the guarantee by the Government of the interest on a loan for land settlement. Loans should be floated by large groups of prospective settlers—needless to say, irrespective of race and creed—and the Government should guarantee the interest only after close examination of the securities offered by the character and composition of the group. Let us suppose that two groups start at the same time, each with a loan of, say, £150,000. The Government's risk, if it guaranteed 5 per cent. interest, would be limited to £15,000 a year as a maximum. There is no possibility that all the settlers would fail to fulfil their obligations. "If land settlement is to be successful, it must be conducted upon the strictest

* "The Poor and the Land," pp. 8-9.

business lines such as would be adopted if the building of a railway or any other industrial enterprise were concerned, and these, of course, include the provision of sufficient capital at a reasonable rate of interest.”*

But money is not all in land settlement. Expert management and supervision of the settlement are no less indispensable conditions of success. The Danish Act concerning the establishment of small-holdings entrusts the execution of the provisions of the Act to committees formed in each county, and consisting each of three members, of whom one is to be appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and two are to be elected by the local committees. In England the Government-aided settlement is directed by the County Councils. In both cases we have a measure of decentralization suited to the character of the people and to the state of the general development of the country. The Spanish Internal Colonization Law places the execution of the law in the hands of a central organization—the *Funta Central de Colonización y Repoblación Interior*—a public body composed partly of Government officials, partly of representatives of associations of public utility like the Spanish Society for Economics. In Victoria there were at first two bodies entrusted with the execution of the Land Settlement Act—the Land Board, which provided the land, and the Irrigation Commission, which had the management of the settlement. Experience proved the inefficiency of this double management, and after two years the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission took over the full control of State-aided settlements on irrigated land. In California there was a Land Settlement Board, with nominated members, to which the whole of the work of execution of the Land Settlement Act was entrusted.

Palestine needs a Land Settlement Board, composed on the one hand of experts, with experience of colonization in other countries, knowledge of the methods of

* “The Poor and the Land,” p. 9.

intensive cultivation, and a firm belief in the idea of close settlement; and on the other hand of a few representatives of the existing organizations concerned with colonization. The less conservative they are in their ideas, the more likely are the Board's activities to succeed. Only real supporters of the idea of close settlement and intensive cultivation should be admitted as members of the Palestinian Land Settlement Board. If the scheme is to become a success, it is essential that the right men be put in the right place.

Sir Rider Haggard emphasized in his report to the British Government the value of the services of philanthropic and other institutions for the execution of the land settlement scheme. He was deeply impressed by what he had seen in the colonies of the Salvation Army in the United States, and he suggested that any well-established and approved social, charitable, or religious organization should be entitled to carry out colonization and ask for the Government's guarantee of a loan. "It might help the Jewish community in the matter of the Zionist settlements for poor Hebrews."* It is, however, doubtful whether organizations such as those mentioned are fitted for activities of the kind suggested. They may occasionally have on their committees and boards persons with a certain knowledge of the problem of colonization, but as a rule one would not expect to find among their members, who are chosen from quite a different point of view, the technical qualifications which are necessary for successful colonizing work. It is therefore essential, in the present writer's opinion, that a Land Settlement Board, with expert members, and with the full authority and power of the Government behind it, should take over the task of land settlement in Palestine on the lines suggested above, to the exclusion of any charitable, political, or other interference.

The Palestine Mandate confirmed in London on July 24, 1922, clearly points the way to State-aided

* Introduction to "The Poor and the Land," p. 15.

colonization. Article 6 of the Mandate provides that the administration of Palestine, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall *encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands*, not required for public purposes." This instruction gives the Government of Palestine the full right to take action of the kind suggested in this article. The Government could entrust the execution of this instruction to the proposed Land Settlement Board, and could help in the way outlined above to finance and direct colonization on the basis of intensive cultivation.

THE PROBLEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

BY LEONARD STEIN

THE problem of self-government is sometimes identified with that of political independence. The two problems are clearly distinguishable. It would have been theoretically possible to recognize Palestine forthwith as an independent State and to leave it to its own devices; but, for reasons which are self-evident, no such solution could be entertained. It was not merely the Balfour Declaration which stood in the way. Great Britain and her Allies were, indeed, pledged to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home. They could hardly begin by leaving the fate of the Jewish minority to the uncontrolled discretion of an independent Arab Government. But if the Balfour Declaration had never been issued, there could still have been no question of immediate independence. No responsible observer can doubt that independence in the full sense of the term would at the present stage prove to be another name for grave disorder, if not for downright anarchy. Anarchy in any part of the Middle East would be a serious misfortune; but in Palestine, with its sacred associations for more than half the civilized world, it would be insupportable. Accordingly, Zionism or no Zionism, it was inevitable that Palestine should in any case be singled out for exceptional treatment. Naturally enough, therefore, in the Mandates for the ex-Turkish territories (to say nothing of the Treaty of Sèvres) a clear distinction is drawn between Syria and Iraq on the one hand, and Palestine on the other. Under the Syrian Mandate, the Mandatory undertakes

“to enact measures to facilitate the progressive development of Syria and the Lebanon as independent States.” In the final draft of the Mandate for Mesopotamia, Article I. provides in similar terms that the organic law “shall contain provisions designed to facilitate the progressive development of Mesopotamia as an independent State.” In the Mandate for Palestine no corresponding provision is to be found.

The omission of the independence clause was not accidental. According to the Political Report* presented to the Twelfth Zionist Congress, the Zionist Organization pressed on several occasions for the inclusion in the draft Mandate of some provision for the eventual attainment of complete autonomy. But these representations were unsuccessful. For reasons which may or may not be generally regarded as valid, but which are, at all events, intelligible, this was a matter on which the British Government was not prepared to commit itself.

On the other hand, while the Palestine Mandate is silent on the subject of independence, it is explicit on the subject of self-government. Article II. expressly requires the Mandatory to develop self-governing institutions in Palestine, and Article III. provides that he shall, “so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.”

Even if these obligations had not been formally accepted, there could still have been no question of maintaining the autocratic régime to which Palestine was accustomed in the days of the Turks. Times have changed, and the Palestine of to-day is not in all respects the Palestine of 1914. Palestine has not been unaffected by the ferment which is working throughout the East. Backward and inert as the mass of the population remains, there is visible a rudimentary tendency towards self-assertion. Moreover,

* “Reports of the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the Twelfth Zionist Congress: I. Political Report.” London, 1921.

the marked race-consciousness of the Jews has tended to produce a corresponding sense of unity among the Arabs and to quicken their corporate life.

Thus the development of self-governing institutions is not only obligatory under the Mandate, but is demanded by the new spirit which is abroad throughout the East. But quite irrespective of these considerations, it would in any case have been a matter of course. The British tradition itself required that Palestine should be taught to manage its own affairs. In making herself responsible for the government of Palestine, Great Britain necessarily made herself responsible for its political education.

But it was also in accordance with the British tradition that that education should proceed by gradual stages. The problem with which Great Britain is faced in Palestine is not unique, though it is complicated by certain exceptional factors. It is in substance the problem which faces her in every backward country in which she has to compromise as best she can between her duty to the articulate minority, with its demand for political self-expression; her duty to the inarticulate majority, with its claim to be protected from exploitation; and her duty to herself, with her responsibility before the world for peace, order, and good government.

In approaching the problem of self-government, it is essential to realize what manner of men the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of Palestine really are. They are far removed from those who claim to speak in their name. The situation is thus described by the "Handbook of Syria and Palestine"* prepared by impartial authorities for the use of the British Peace Delegation:

"The people west of the Jordan are not Arabs, but only Arabic-speaking. The bulk of the population are fellaheen; that is to say, agricultural workers owning land in a village community or working land

* Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 60 (London, 1920), p. 56.

for the Syrian effendi. . . . They have for centuries been ground down, overtaxed, and bullied by the Turk, and still more by the Arabic-speaking Turkish minor officials and by the Syrian and Levantine land-owner. They have little or no national sentiment, and would probably welcome any form of government which would guarantee to them reasonable security and enjoyment of the fruits of their labour."

Similar evidence is given by a recent observer who cannot be suspected of any lack of sympathy with the Arab point of view:

"The majority of the Palestinian peasants have no interest beyond a desire to improve the conditions of their daily life, but even financially they are in the hands of the educated classes, who lend them money at exorbitant rates of interest under cover of imaginary bills of sale, since usury is forbidden by the Government."*

The fact has to be faced that, so far as the great mass of the population is concerned, the Arabs are immature and irresponsible to the point of childishness. They are almost unbelievably credulous—a weakness which makes it easy for adventurers to work upon their passions. The overwhelming majority of them are illiterate. The High Commissioner informed the Advisory Council in December, 1920, that of 134,000 children of school age, 100,000 were receiving no education whatever. Illiteracy is especially characteristic of the Moslem majority. In Turkish times the Jews and Christians were in a position to provide schools of their own, but little was done for education by the Government, and the Moslems did equally little for themselves. Illiterate people are not necessarily incapable of managing their own affairs in their own simple way, and of evolving at least a rude form of social order. But the fissiparous tendencies of the Arabs make it singularly difficult for them to keep the peace even within the narrow limits of a village

* Mrs. Rosita Forbes, *Sunday Times*, March 18, 1923.

community. A glance at the files of the Palestine *Official Gazette* will show that hardly a month passes without its being necessary to declare one or more purely Arab villages* to be in a disturbed state, not because of any difference between Arabs and Jews, but because violent disputes have arisen between the Arab villagers themselves. All over the country there are villages which are ready to relapse into disorder at the first opportunity.

Against this background of primitive passions and untutored minds stands out the usual educated and articulate minority, claiming rights which it is almost equally difficult to refuse and to concede. The situation is complicated by the fact that Arab Palestine is singularly weak in responsible leadership. The educated classes, to whom the Arabs would naturally look for a lead, have been inevitably demoralized by the corrupt régime under which they have been accustomed to live. Similarly, such Palestinian Arabs as have had any administrative experience at all have in most cases had to acquire it in one of the worst of all possible schools. These unedifying lessons can be, and are being, unlearned, but a new standard cannot be created at a moment's notice.

The problem of self-government would thus have been anything but simple, even if the population of Palestine had been exclusively Arab. But in Palestine that problem is even more complex than in other Arabic-speaking territories. For side by side with an Arab population, a large part of which has stood still for 2,000 years, there is an active, enterprising, and increasing Jewish minority living in the twentieth century, or as it would seem in some cases in the twenty-first. And the Jews are not merely a religious minority. Though they number only about 11 per

* *E.g.*, Kubalan, Yetma, Beita Hiwarah, Awerta, and Audela (*Official Gazette*, January 1, 1923); Mezrat el Sherkieh (*Official Gazette*, November 1, 1922); Selfit (*Official Gazette*, September 15, 1922). All these are purely Arab villages.

cent. of the population, they are distinguishable as a national unit. The Jewish community, says Mr. Churchill's White Paper,* "with . . . its political, religious, and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has, in fact, 'national' characteristics." Those national characteristics are not a new phenomenon. They were already well developed at the outbreak of the war. Even if the Balfour Declaration had never been made, the Jews would still have been reasonably entitled, on the general principles of minority rights, to an assurance that the values they had laboriously created would not be wantonly destroyed.

Thus the problem of the Jewish minority would have existed if there had never been a Balfour Declaration. But it has now been superseded by the problem of the Jewish national home. The Mandate must be the starting-point of anything which may be done in Palestine by the Mandatory Power, and it must be frankly recognized that the Mandate does impose certain limitations on the abstract right of self-government. The Mandatory is required to promote the development of self-governing institutions, but the same article† makes him responsible for "placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home as laid down in the preamble." The crucial question is that of immigration. The admission of immigrants is in ordinary circumstances a matter in which every Government is at liberty to do as it pleases. The Balfour Declaration would obviously be stultified if the same freedom of action were left to the Government of Palestine. The Palestine Government is not, indeed, obliged to concede an unqualified right of entry; but the Mandate expressly lays it down that the Government, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections

* Cd. 1700 (1922).

† Article II. of the Mandate for Palestine.

of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." Hence no Palestinian legislature can have a free hand in the matter of immigration so long as the Mandate is in force. In this and in a variety of other matters the Mandate necessarily imposes limiting conditions.

This does not mean, it need hardly be observed, that the Jews are always to have their way. What it does mean is that the Arabs cannot always have theirs. Nor should it be forgotten that, quite apart from the Zionist provisions of the Mandate, there are others which are equally binding, and which impose similar limitations on the right of a Palestinian legislature to do as it pleases. The custody of the Holy Places, the liberties of "religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths," the right of each community to maintain its own schools, the treatment of antiquities, the recognition of English (as well as Hebrew) as an official language, the right of the Mandatory to use the communications of Palestine for the transport of troops—on none of these important matters can the inhabitants of Palestine be left free to legislate at their discretion.

Nor are these limitations on the right of self-government any novelty. Among the new States born of the war, including States infinitely more advanced than Palestine, there is hardly one on which limitations of one kind or another have not been imposed. Nearly all of them have been called upon to accept binding obligations for which they are accountable to a higher tribunal, and which are in effect restrictions on their sovereignty. It is, in other words, by no means the accepted view that every State, or the majority for the time being in every State, exists in and for itself. There is no such principle. Both in Europe and outside it there are cases in which the interests of the world at large require the abstract right of self-government to be reconciled with considerations of a different order, but of at least equal validity.

In Palestine those interests require limitations which are on the face of them of an exceptional character. But at the present stage the whole question is in reality somewhat academic. For the reasons already given there could have been no serious suggestion of immediate and unqualified self-government, even if the Balfour Declaration had never been issued. On the one hand there are a variety of important interests, quite apart from those of the Jewish national home, which would in any event have had to be safeguarded. On the other hand, the people of Palestine are still in the early stages of their political education. Zionism or no Zionism, that education must necessarily be a gradual process, unless risks are to be run which could hardly be taken without grave misgiving in a country which has not only a political and strategic importance out of all proportion to its size, but is in a larger sense the common possession of the civilized world. Within the wide limits prescribed by the Mandate there is, in fact, a much larger field for the practice of self-government than can at the present stage be effectively occupied.

Thus stated, the problem of self-government may be considered under three main heads: (1) local self-government, (2) communal self-government, and (3) national self-government.

(1) LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.—The people of Palestine have up to the present had little opportunity of managing their own affairs, even on the smallest scale. If, therefore, the foundations are to be solidly laid, the political education of Palestine must begin at the bottom. The horizon of the average Palestinian is bounded by his own village or town, and the first step towards making him a public-spirited citizen is to give him a voice in matters in which he has a direct and conscious interest. Again, in view of the mixed character of the population, there are obvious advantages in devolving the maximum of responsibility on local authorities. There is clearly much to be gained by leaving the various sections of the population as free

as possible to develop on their own lines, while co-operating in matters which must necessarily be reserved for the central Government. In the villages, where the population is in most cases fairly homogeneous, this principle is not difficult to apply. It is desirable that the same principle should be followed, so far as circumstances permit, where villages are grouped together to form a larger local government unit. In the towns, where the three communities are often intermingled, the problem is not so simple; but even in urban areas there are cases in which fairly homogeneous units can be constituted. The most conspicuous example is the Jewish township of Tel-Aviv, which started as a suburb of Jaffa, but has now been recognized as a separate municipal area, and is absorbing in turn a number of adjacent settlements. The reforming zeal which has made Tel-Aviv the most progressive town in Palestine would have been sterilized had it been yoked with the much less enterprising city of Jaffa—a partnership which would merely have held Tel-Aviv back without materially helping to carry Jaffa forward.

Since the Occupation appreciable progress has been made. The municipal organization inherited from the Turks has been developed, and there are now twenty-two municipalities in existence. An anomalous feature of the situation is that, although nearly three years have elapsed since the civil administration was established, the municipal franchise is still under discussion, and pending the revision of the register, no elections have taken place, vacancies being filled by nomination. Thus the municipalities cannot, as they stand, be regarded as representative bodies. They require the approval of the district Governor for their annual estimates, and their activities are under his general supervision. Their sources of revenue are prescribed by law, and they can levy no new impost without the sanction of the High Commissioner. With these reservations, they enjoy within their own sphere a large measure of financial and administrative inde-

pendence, which they exercise with varying degrees of success.

So far as the municipalities are concerned, there has been no important departure from the provisions of the Turkish law, except that the system of local taxation has been radically reformed.

On the other hand, a definite advance is marked by the Local Councils Ordinance, 1921, which is designed "to provide for the development of local government in larger villages, and in any quarter of a town which has a distinctive character." This Ordinance empowers the High Commissioner, on the recommendation of the District Governor concerned, to establish local councils with considerable administrative powers, and with the right to levy such taxes and fees as may be prescribed in each particular case. A supplementary Ordinance provides that "the area of jurisdiction of a local council may include a group of villages." It is under this legislation that a municipal charter has been obtained by Tel-Aviv. Local councils have also been constituted in a number of villages, including several of the larger Jewish colonies.

Most of the local authorities in Palestine have still much to learn before they can safely be trusted to stand entirely by themselves, but the measures already taken are in full accord with the spirit of Article III. of the Mandate, which provides that "the Mandatory shall, as far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy."

(2) COMMUNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.—The writer of the Naval Intelligence Manual on "The Jewish Colonies in Palestine" comments favourably on the *de facto* autonomy enjoyed by the colonies before the war. He observes that "this has made their development on independent lines easier," and that "it has also minimized the dangers of racial and religious conflict." He draws the inference that "the treatment of each national and religious body in Palestine

as to some extent a separate and independent community is a method of government which deserves the favourable consideration of a protecting Power which may assume control after the war.”*

For this view there is undoubtedly much to be said. There are certain matters which must necessarily be reserved for the central government. There are other matters which are clearly within the province of the local authorities. But there are also matters which primarily concern, not the inhabitants of a given area, but the members of a given community. Of such communal services, much the most important is education. There may also be advantages in allowing each community to maintain its own hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions. For all these purposes the various communities are naturally free to organize themselves on a voluntary basis. But something more is here in question. Education—to take the leading though not the only case—is a public service. As rates are levied for the usual municipal services by local authorities, so, it is contended, the various communities as such might properly be empowered by law to levy an education rate. The same principle would apply in the case of any other public service of a communal character.

This arrangement would at least have the advantage of removing certain undoubted anomalies. The Government schools are open to all communities without distinction, but they exist in practice mainly for the benefit of the Moslems. The Jews have a complete educational system of their own. There are also a large number of voluntary schools maintained by various Christian denominations. Thus, at the end of 1922 only 1,396 of the 11,913 Christian school-children were at Government schools. In the case of the Jews, the figure was 9 out of 18,145. The Jews and the Christians constitute together over 20 per cent. of the population, but while they naturally

* Admiralty Naval Staff, 1919 (I.D. 1203).

contribute to the revenue on the same footing as the Moslems, the grant-in-aid to Jewish and Christian voluntary schools amounted in 1922-1923 to less than 5 per cent. of the expenditure on education from public funds. In other words, the Christians, and to a still greater extent the Jews, contribute substantially to the maintenance of Moslem schools, while receiving only a bare minimum of public support for their own. This inequality would be removed if the various communities were empowered, and indeed obliged, to levy rates on their own members for educational purposes, the central government retaining such powers of supervision and control as may reasonably be required.

But beyond these purely practical considerations, there is a larger question of principle. There must, needless to say, be complete equality before the law for all citizens of Palestine, irrespective of race and creed. It may, none the less, be expedient to treat the various communities as more or less self-contained organisms, each of them free to function in its own way within the general framework of the State, and each of them capable of speaking with a collective voice through its recognized institutions. It is at least arguable that in such a policy there would be substantial advantages both for the communities and for the State. The central government would still exercise a reasonable measure of control, but it would relieve itself by delegating the maximum of responsibility to the communities, and it would be in a position to deal with each of these communities as a coherent whole. Each community would operate freely within its proper sphere, and the risk of collision would thus be minimized. Finally, each community would have the fullest opportunity of developing the best that is in it, and of living a wholesome and vigorous corporate life.

The Jews have already created their own self-governing institutions on a voluntary basis. Immedi-

ately after the fall of Jerusalem at the end of 1917, the Jews of the liberated area appointed a provisional committee (Va'ad Hazmani), which was to prepare the ground for the election of a representative assembly. Soon after the establishment of the civil administration, elections were held on a franchise giving the vote to all adult Jews permanently resident in Palestine. Nearly three-fourths of the qualified voters went to the polls, and 258 delegates from all parts of Palestine attended the first session of the elected assembly (Asefath Nivcharim), which opened in Jerusalem in October, 1920. Fresh elections were held in February, 1922, and the second session of the assembly took place in the following month. The executive committee of the assembly is the Jewish National Council (Va'ad Leumi), which is in practice recognized by the Government as the spokesman of the Jewish community in matters of communal concern. A handful of Jews still stands aloof, but the Va'ad Leumi is undoubtedly qualified to speak for the great bulk of the Jewish population. Thus for all practical purposes the Jewish community can now be said to have been organized on a democratic basis as a coherent whole. In these circumstances it is natural that the Va'ad Leumi, as the organ of the Jewish elected assembly, should press for recognition as a statutory body with power to levy rates on the Jewish community for appropriate communal services.

In this direction, however, no progress has yet been made. The principal difficulty resides in the fact that neither the Moslems nor the Christians nor the Arabs as a whole have as yet reached the same level of organization as the Jews. The Moslem-Christian Society and the Supreme Moslem Sharia Council—this latter a statutory authority—do, indeed, represent in their several spheres a certain body of Arab opinion. But neither of these institutions is on quite the same footing as the Jewish National Council. There are obvious difficulties in conceding to the Jews an internal

autonomy which the other communities would in all probability proceed to claim, but for which they are by common consent unripe. Thus the Jewish demand for communal autonomy, weighty as it is and strongly as it has been pressed, has not yet prevailed, and the first step in the direction of communal self-government still remains to be taken.

(3) NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.—In his inaugural speech on July 7, 1920, the High Commissioner announced his intention of nominating forthwith "an Advisory Council, small in number, consisting mainly of officials of the Government, but containing also unofficial members chosen from various sections of the people." "Such," he observed, "has been in many parts of the British Empire the first stage in the development of self-governing institutions. I trust that in course of time a similar evolution will take place in Palestine from these beginnings."

An Advisory Council was duly constituted. It consisted of eleven official members, including the High Commissioner, and ten nominated unofficial members, made up of four Moslems, three Jews, and three Christians. The first meeting of the Council was held on October 6, 1920, when the High Commissioner, in opening the proceedings, made the following declaration:

"I announced in my inaugural speech that an Advisory Council would be established. It meets to-day in fulfilment of that promise. It should be clearly understood that this is to be regarded only as a first step in the development of self-governing institutions. In course of time, as the political situation becomes more settled, it is hoped to proceed further along that path."

This declaration was repeated by the High Commissioner in more specific terms in his King's Birthday speech on June 3, 1921:

"I am anxious," he said, "that the people of Palestine should be associated more closely with the

administration established under the Mandate, and the question of ensuring a free and authoritative expression of popular opinion is now receiving the closest attention of His Majesty's Government.

"Meanwhile," he proceeded, "I propose to take immediate steps with a view to ensuring closer consultation on administrative matters of importance between the Government and responsible persons who speak on behalf of all sections of the population."

What the High Commissioner had in mind was the constitution, side by side with the Advisory Council, of a consultative committee of Moslem and Christian notables, who should represent the interests of their respective communities in the same manner as the Zionist Commission represented those of the Jews. In the following August, invitations were duly issued to a number of selected notables, including a substantial proportion of well-known irreconcilables. The response, however, was discouraging. The project was stillborn, and the consultative committee never came into being.

On the other hand, the Advisory Council continued to meet regularly at intervals of a month or two until February 15, 1923, when its labours were brought to an end on the assumption that it was about to be replaced by an elected legislature. In the course of its twenty-two meetings the Advisory Council did a considerable amount of useful work. All important legislation was submitted to it in advance, and Ordinances were formally enacted by the High Commissioner "after consultation with the Advisory Council." The Council was also given an opportunity of discussing the annual estimates. The Council's advice was not necessarily accepted, but its views were invariably given careful consideration, and draft Ordinances were not infrequently amended to meet them. It cannot be said that the Council as a whole showed any conspicuous ability, but its existence undoubtedly served a useful purpose. On the one hand, it brought

the Government into regular touch with responsible individuals familiar with local conditions and with local sentiment. On the other hand, the members were themselves brought into immediate contact with the actual machinery of government. They were thus enabled to convince themselves that the concrete problems of day-to-day administration were more complex than was realized by irresponsible critics, and that the Government was making an honest attempt to serve the best interests of the population as a whole.

In the meantime, steps were being taken to give Palestine a first instalment of representative institutions. In February, 1922, an official summary of the proposed constitution was made public, and on August 10, 1922, almost immediately after the situation had been regularized by the confirmation of the Mandate, the constitution—the first draft of which had been modified in several important respects after discussion with the Palestine Arab delegation and the Zionists—was approved by the King in Council, together with the customary Royal Instructions to the High Commissioner.

The constitution is embodied in two Orders in Council, of which the first deals comprehensively with the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary, while the second prescribes the franchise and the electoral system.

The legislature is to consist of the High Commissioner and twenty-two members, of whom ten are to have seats *ex officio* as heads of departments, while the remaining twelve are to be popularly elected.

The franchise is unusually wide. There is no educational qualification, nor need the voter be a property-owner or a tax-payer. With insignificant exceptions, every male Palestinian citizen over the age of twenty-five is entitled to be placed on the register. The principle adopted is that of indirect election. The first stage is to consist of the choice of secondary

electors in the proportion of one to every 200 citizens on the register. The secondary electors are to be grouped by communities into twelve electoral colleges, each of which is to appoint one member of the Council, with the proviso that the Jewish and Christian communities are to have at least two electoral colleges each.

The Legislative Council is bound, as it must of necessity be bound, by the provisions of the Mandate, and is expressly precluded from passing any Ordinance which is in any way repugnant to them. The right to initiate legislation imposing taxes or appropriating revenue is reserved, in accordance with the usual practice, to the High Commissioner. No Ordinance is to take effect until it has received the assent of the High Commissioner or, in appropriate cases, of the King. The High Commissioner may reserve any Ordinance for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and there is the customary provision for the disallowance of any Ordinance by His Majesty within one year of the date of the High Commissioner's assent. Finally, the King in Council retains the right to make such laws as may appear necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Palestine "in accordance with the Mandate conferred upon him." The powers thus reserved to the High Commissioner and to the Crown are little more than common form. In the case of Cyprus, which is in some respects analogous to that of Palestine, precisely similar provisions are to be found in the Order in Council of 1882, which remains in force, substantially unchanged, to this day. Under this head the Palestine constitution contains only one unusual feature. Reference home for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure is not permissive, but obligatory, in the case of any Ordinance which concerns matters specifically dealt with in the Mandate. In other words, the fundamental law of Palestine in the last resort is the Mandate itself, and the Mandatory Power cannot abdicate its respon-

sibility for ensuring that the terms of its trust are strictly observed.

But Palestine is nevertheless offered a substantial instalment of self-governing institutions and a much larger opportunity of managing its own affairs than it has ever enjoyed before. It is true that the new constitution does not mark even the beginnings of responsible government. The unofficial members of the Council have power without responsibility. If united in opposition to the Government, they can at any moment bring business to a temporary standstill, in the full consciousness that they can in no circumstances be called upon to provide an alternative administration. None the less, the constitution is a *bona fide* attempt to provide for the co-operation of the administration with a legislature in which the governed are given the fullest possible opportunity of self-expression through their elected representatives. In Palestine, as elsewhere in the Middle East, a compromise, by whatever name it may be called, offers the only immediate solution of the constitutional problem; but as the political education of Palestine proceeds, the balance will gradually incline in the direction of full self-government.

This process will be neither hastened nor, it is to be hoped, retarded by the failure of the first elections to the Palestine Legislative Council. The boycott organized by the Moslem Christian Society was sufficiently successful to make the elections nugatory in most, though by no means all, of the electoral districts. But a policy of unintelligent obstruction has no future. Sooner or later the constructive forces among the Arabs will make their way into the ascendant, and the development of self-governing institutions will be resumed at the point at which it has now been for the moment suspended.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PALESTINE FOR THE JEWS

BY LEON SIMON

FROM the destruction of the Jewish State, nearly two thousand years ago, until comparatively recent times, the significance of Palestine for the Jews depended entirely on the Jews, not at all on Palestine. During that period Palestine underwent political and economic changes of considerable magnitude. It passed from the Roman to the Arab, from the Arab to the Turk; it had its periods of peace and of war, of progress and of retrogression. But throughout it remained exactly the same for the great mass of Jews. It remained always *Erez Israel*, the land of Israel, the land in which David had reigned and the Temple had stood, the land flowing with milk and honey, the land which had been promised to Israel for all time, and to which in the day of resurrection all the Jews of all the ages would return. The actual condition of Palestine at any given time made no difference. No political or economic changes in Palestine were regarded as capable either of retarding or of bringing nearer the fulfilment of the promise. Such changes made no mark in Jewish history, and left no impression on the Jewish mind. The Crusaders lived in Jewish recollection because they murdered and pillaged the Jews in their passage through Europe, not because they made Palestine flourish for a while as it had not flourished for centuries. The Turks lived in Jewish recollection because they opened Turkey to Jews who fled from persecution in Europe, not because they allowed Palestine to become under their rule a

desert. It was almost as though the *Erez Israel* of the Prayer Book and of Jewish dreams had lost all connection with the actual Palestine.

Yet this attitude of unconcern towards the actual Palestine did not involve any act of renunciation on the part of the great majority of Jews. The hope which they cherished was regarded by each generation as one that might be fulfilled in its own lifetime, and the prayer that the redemption might come "speedily in our own days" had nothing in it of hypocrisy. A false Messiah could always find a large number of Jews ready to follow him to Palestine. When Menasseh ben Israel petitioned Cromwell to allow Jews once more to settle in England, he believed that by widening the dispersion of the Jews he would be fulfilling one of the conditions precedent to their restoration to their own land. It was only at a later date, and only among Jews who had come to enjoy the benefits of social and political emancipation in Western countries, that the prayer for the return to Zion acquired a touch of insincerity. These emancipated Jews, having lost the feeling of being in exile, ceased to attach any significance to Palestine; and the more thoroughgoing of them proceeded to take Palestine out of their Prayer Book, as they had already taken it out of their hearts. But the masses of Jews remained untouched by assimilative tendencies of this character. For them Palestine was still *Erez Israel*, and life outside Palestine life in exile. And the exile was not the less sincerely and acutely felt because any human effort to terminate it was held to be futile, or even contrary to the Divine will.

It is not easy to see why it happened in the nineteenth century, and did not happen before, that Palestine began to have significance for large numbers of Jews in Eastern Europe as an actual country, and not merely as an ideal. The tale of Jewish suffering was not more terrible in that century than it had been in some earlier periods of the exile, nor was the possi-

bility of a return to Palestine on a large scale apparently any greater than it had been for some centuries before. Probably the explanation is to be found—in part, at any rate—in the decay of Jewish traditional belief and practice. Men in whom the Jewish consciousness was still strong, but who could not believe as their fathers had believed, or regulate their lives wholly by the Talmud, had to find some other way of expressing their Jewishness, and found it most readily in attempting to translate into actual fact the vague dream of a national redemption which was a part of their spiritual heritage. Be that as it may, the fact remains that in the middle of the nineteenth century, while some East European Jews of the traditional type were finding their way to Palestine and settling in the four “holy cities,” to spend their last years there in prayer and study, others of a younger generation were preparing the way for a conscious and widespread nationalist movement directed to Palestine as the home of the Jewish people. It was not till the last quarter of the century that this movement began to bear practical fruit in a sustained endeavour to resettle Jews on the land in Palestine, and to create there the nucleus of a national group distinguished from its surroundings in language, in education, and in mode of life no less markedly than in religion. Economic and political circumstances denied this movement—known best as “Love of Zion,” but sometimes even in its early days called “Zionism”—any possibility of large practical achievement. Its fruits in Palestine were a handful of small settlements, mostly agricultural, and a number of Hebrew schools, which gave the Hebrew language an assured future in its original home. But the effects of the “Love of Zion” movement were much wider than that. It made Palestine—the Palestine of to-day, the Palestine in which there were Jewish “colonies” and Hebrew schools—an objective reality to hundreds of thousands of Jews, and an objective fact in present-day Jewish

life. A Jew had no longer to shut his eyes to the world around him in order to invest Palestine with significance to himself as a Jew. He could look forward to settling in Palestine himself, or could at least help other Jews to settle there, conscious that in so doing he would not be performing a mere act of charity, but would be contributing towards the national restoration of his own people.

A little later, in the last years of the century, a new Zionism was born in the west of Europe, differing from its predecessor as the Jews of the West differed from those of the East, but drawing its being from the same Jewish consciousness. The new Zionism was more ambitious than the old; it thought in political terms, and wanted to acquire Palestine from the Sultan of Turkey under an internationally guaranteed charter as a preliminary to the immigration of masses of Jews and the establishment of a "Jewish State." Like the earlier "Love of Zion," it brought Palestine home as a living fact to large numbers of Jews, though with the difference that many of those who heard its appeal were men for whom Palestine had ceased to be even the symbol of a distant hope. The two movements, at one in their ultimate root, were in sharp conflict as to immediate ways and means; for the "political" Zionists looked down on the slow colonizing work of the "Lovers of Zion," which had no guarantee of security, and seemed unlikely for generations to place any considerable number of Jews in Palestine. However, the two sections came together in the Zionist Organization founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897, and succeeded in finding a *modus vivendi*. The "Lovers of Zion" who entered the Organization adopted its political outlook, and the "political" Zionists on their side abandoned their uncompromising hostility to practical colonizing work in Palestine. And when the Great War made the break-up of Turkey a living issue, the spokesmen of Zionism were able to ask, in the name of hundreds of thousands of organized supporters and of a still larger

number of unorganized sympathizers, that in the settlement of the future of Palestine due account should be taken of Jewish national aspirations.

Their demand received satisfaction in the pledge given by the British Government on the 2nd of November, 1917—known as the Balfour Declaration—in favour of “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People,” subject to provisos safeguarding the rights of non-Jews in Palestine, and the civil and political status of Jews in other countries. That Declaration was afterwards endorsed by the other Allied Powers, and was carried into the Treaty of Peace with Turkey; and it is recited in the Mandate under which Great Britain has undertaken to administer Palestine.

This international recognition of the right of the Jews to rebuild their national home in Palestine has produced widely different reactions among Jews. To many it seems to be the fulfilment of the promise. Palestine, they think, has been “restored to the Jews,” and the death-knell of the exile has sounded. There is now no need for a Messiah or for a resurrection. The dream-Palestine, with its purely ideal significance, has gone for ever; its place is taken by the real Palestine, to which all the Jews—or at least all the persecuted Jews—will shortly return, to live there as a nation among the nations. To others, at the opposite extreme, international endorsement of the Jewish claim to nationality appears nothing less than a calamity. The very phrase “Jewish nationality” sends them into a shiver of apprehension. It conjures up in their minds no vision of renascent nationhood, of the restoration of ancient glories, of a new life of dignity and service for the oppressed House of Israel. It suggests to them only the loss of their dearly-prized civic rights in the countries in which they live, and which they have no intention of exchanging for Palestine.

A sober contemplation of the facts should correct both these exaggerated attitudes. Palestine has not

been "restored to the Jews"; the Jews are not a corporate body of the kind to which a country could be given. In any case, there is not room in Palestine for more than a fraction of the number of Jews, or even of oppressed Jews, in the world to-day. Nor, on the other hand, is compulsion put upon any Jew to associate himself with Palestine either politically or in any other way. Every Jew who lives outside Palestine remains, as before, free to take as much or as little interest in Palestine as he chooses. The significance of Palestine for the Jewish people as a whole remains essentially the same. The difference is that there is now a distinct and formal invitation to every individual Jew to invest Palestine with significance for himself—by going to live there if he can and will, or, if not, by linking his own life in some fashion with the new Jewish life which is being built up in Palestine. The Declaration and the Mandate are facts of prime importance to the Jewish people, precisely because they do not attempt to endow it with a political cohesion which could not be other than a sham, but give it an opportunity to strengthen the real basis of its cohesion by expressing its traditional attachment to Palestine in a hundred forms of practical effort.

To say this is not to overlook the value or importance of what is involved for Palestine itself, and for those Jews who will settle there, in the promise of a Jewish national home. On those aspects of the matter there is no need to enlarge here. Nor need one labour the point that a reasonable measure of success in the reclamation of Palestine, and in the redemption of down-trodden Jews through their transfer to Palestine, is essential if the new impulse which has been given to the love of Zion in many a Jewish heart is not to die away and to give place to a bitter disillusionment. But the significance of Palestine for the Jews as a people will not be determined in the future, as it has not in the past been determined, by

the actual amount of milk and honey in the country or by the actual usefulness of Palestine as a home of refuge for the persecuted. For, after all, the significance of Palestine for the Jews depends more on the Jews than on Palestine. Political and economic developments, all-important as they may be for a given period, are on a longer view but secondary matters. The abiding significance of Palestine for the Jews consists in its being for them, whether more or less prosperous, whether more or less thickly populated, whether more or less politically independent, the *Erez Israel* of their history and their dreams.

ENGLAND'S INTEREST IN PALESTINE

BY HERBERT SIDEBOTHAM

ENGLAND has both moral and material interests in Palestine, and they act and react on each other so constantly that it is not always easy to separate them. Different people have taken different paths to the conclusion that the association between Zionism and British policy in the East is natural and desirable, and the path of conviction for one may not be pleasant walking for another. But each way of approach must be explored separately, and in this chapter it is proposed to follow the hard beaten track of what used to be called *Realpolitik*, but may more distinctively be described as the Manchester school of Zionism, for it was in Manchester during the war that its argument was first developed. After all, the commonest argument against Zionism is that, whether the ideal be sound or unsound, noble or unworthy, it is no business of this country. The object of this chapter is to show that it is our business in the hardest and most practical sense, and that in allying themselves with Zionism British Governments have not been crusading for an ideal that is no concern of theirs, but merely looking after some of the most elementary interests entrusted to their care.

It was during the war that the closer relations between Zionism and England began, but British concern with Palestine and its problems goes much further back. There was persistent advocacy in the early years of Victoria's reign of Zionism as a part of our Eastern policy. In 1839 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent out two representatives

to report on the condition of the Jews in Palestine, and in consequence of their report a British consul was appointed in Jerusalem, and we became the protectors of the Jews in the East—a position recognized by the Russian Government. Lord Shaftesbury, again, used to advocate the immigration of Jews into Palestine as a means of developing the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and there was vigorous pamphleteering through the forties by Mitford and others for the “re-establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine under British protection.” Interrupted by the Crimean War, the argument that Jewish nationalism was our natural ally in the East was frequently employed when the Balkan troubles broke out in the seventies. Disraeli, as a known sympathizer with Zionism, was expected to do something for his compatriots at the Berlin Conference, and it was in 1879 that the *Spectator* made its celebrated remark that “if he had freed the Holy Land and restored the Jews, as he might have done, instead of pottering about with Roumelia and Afghanistan, he would have died Dictator.” None the less, Disraeli did give much encouragement to Laurence Oliphant’s projects of the Jewish colonization in Gilead, and his interest in Zionism was continued by British statesmen like Chamberlain, Lyttelton, and Lansdowne. When the war came, there was, therefore, a long and a fairly strong tradition of British interest in Zionism. The war certainly did not create it, but merely gave it a new direction.

In 1916 there was formed in Manchester a British Palestine Committee, consisting partly of British Jews, chief of them being Mr. Harry Sacher, Mr. Simon Marks, and Mr. Israel Sieff, all disciples of Dr. Weizmann, and a few Gentiles, among whom were Mr. C. P. Scott, of the *Manchester Guardian*, and the writer. The occasion that led to the formation of this committee, which, though its original members are now scattered, still publishes the periodical *Palestine*, was

the attacks made by the Turks on the Suez Canal. A military leader in the *Manchester Guardian* argued that the Suez Canal, the main artery of our communications with India, could not be satisfactorily defended along its banks, and suggested that Zionism in Jerusalem would have prevented this Turkish attack from maturing, and that an alliance between Zionism and Great Britain might still have great military value in the war. The argument was not new. Mitford in 1845 had argued that the establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine under British protection "would retrieve our affairs in the Levant, and place us in a position from whence to check the progress of encroachment, to overawe open enemies, and if necessary to repel their advances." Those words were written before the Suez Canal was made, and an argument which may have seemed fanciful at the time was, of course, enormously strengthened by the Turkish attack on the canal. And, in fact, our military operations later followed on the lines of this logic. The British troops crossed the desert, entered Palestine under Sir Archibald Murray, and under Lord Allenby captured Jerusalem and later won the great victory of Megiddo. It was just before the capture of Jerusalem that Mr. Balfour made the promise of a Jewish national home in Palestine. It is evident, therefore, that the military arguments of the Manchester school of Zionists were not purely theoretical, for by accident or design the war policy of the Government and the course of military events fell into the same mould.*

It may perhaps be said that from a military invasion of Palestine in order to defend Egypt and attack the Turks it is a big jump to permanent occupation and the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the

* See for a development of the military argument "England and Palestine" (Constable), especially chapter x., which was originally a memorandum prepared for the British Palestine Committee in 1916.

Jews. But the transition was perfectly natural and indeed inevitable. The actual frontier of Egypt, then as now, was on the far side of the desert south of Gaza, and events had shown that it was impossible to defend Egypt without a footing in Palestine. Defence of Egypt by an army stationed along the banks of the canal, in addition to its other disadvantages, involved the sacrifice of a considerable portion of Egyptian territory to the invader. Either Egypt must abandon all its territory on the Palestine side of the desert (a proposal that Turkey in effect made at the time of the Rafah boundary dispute) or else some stronghold on the Palestine side must be held. In the old days Gaza was the key of the gate, but armies now move more rapidly and on a wider front. Everything pointed to the Judean hills as the real protection of Egypt against attack from Syria. From these hills a strong force could attack the flank of an army advancing against Egypt, and secure its territory from violation. But how obtain for Egypt and the canal the protection of these Judean hills? One way would have been by annexation and their fortification as a place of arms. That way would have been dangerous politically as well as costly. The other way was by so stiffening Palestine nationality as to make sure that the passage through the country by an invader would be energetically resisted. The only people in the world who have this passionate attachment to the soil of Palestine are the Zionist Jews. Thus the establishment of a Zionist element in the Judean hills presented itself as the surest safeguard for the integrity of Egyptian territory and the protection of the canal. There were other motives, too, but we are here concerned only with the material motives of policy.

But having gone so far, it was easy to go further. Judea has great strategical importance, but it is too small and unproductive for a strong self-sufficing State. If you were introducing the Zionist element into

Palestine at all, would it not be easier to give it an ampler sphere for its activities and to revive a real Palestinian nation, which the Zionist Jews might develop commercially and defend patriotically? And would not the experiment on the larger scale be more economical because more likely to sustain itself? Our great anxiety in undertaking fresh responsibilities is to make the communities which come under our control fit for responsible self-government and capable of standing alone after a period of tutelage. Thus out of the bare strategical necessity you find yourself arriving by easy and natural stages at the conception of a full-grown Palestinian nation. The policy of Governments does not consciously form itself by these purely logical processes. It tends to take the line of least resistance; and there are many signs that the Government had not completely worked out all the implications of the new Palestine that it was founding. But it is clear enough what must have been the general direction of its thought. In the last two or three years of the war we all thought strategically, but almost from the beginning the abstract arguments of military expediency were informed by other considerations that were characteristic of our politics. And prominent among these were the eminently practical considerations of economy and the hopes of future self-government for the country.

If it be objected that you cannot found a policy on the military incidents of one war, the answer is that what has happened since has enormously strengthened the original military argument. The Turkish attack on Egypt was not very serious, and if Turkey had remained in control of Syria it might have been argued that Egypt could afford to take the same risks again. But Syria is now a French possession with a very large military garrison, and though the French have quarrelled with the Arabs in Syria, that would not have prevented them, if we had not been in Palestine, from extending their authority over it. No one supposes

that the Arabs of Palestine, left alone, without stiffening from the Zionists and without protection from Great Britain, could have established a nationality or maintained their independence. Even, therefore, if we had never taken any interest in Palestine during the war, we should by this time have been faced with the choice between two serious alternatives. Either we should have to allow French power to extend almost up to the east bank of the canal, thus abrogating our rule against a land frontier with an important military Power; or, if we did not like that prospect, we should by now have had to think seriously of entering the country and establishing ourselves there. Can it be doubted that either of these alternatives would have led to far more trouble than the policy that we have actually adopted, to far more friction, and to far more expenditure of money?

But the matter does not rest even there. We have concluded an agreement giving Egypt independence subject to certain conditions, of which the protection of the Suez Canal is the most important. As things are, the problem of protecting the Canal without infringing the gift of independence is, though difficult, at any rate manageable. But what sort of position should we have been in to protect the Canal if, while the rising national spirit of the Egyptian people was thrusting us out of Egypt eastwards over the Canal, the advance of the French towards the southern confines of Palestine was thrusting us back westwards? Our hold on this supremely important isthmus would have been mere length without breadth. Either we should have had to deny to Egypt her independence and to maintain ourselves there by the sword—and one trembles to think of the political and military objections to such a policy—or we should have been along that strip of desert in the Middle East the mere tenants on sufferance of a narrow corridor exposed to attack on both flanks, and able to defend ourselves, if at all, only at an enormous military cost of men and

treasure. As it is, with our foot in Palestine, Jerusalem, not Cairo, is the natural base for the army defending the Canal. And yet, blessed as we are with this enormously valuable by-product of our Zionist policy, there are still to be found men so ignorant or so infatuated with prejudice that they would have us clear out of Palestine to save a million pounds a year. These people, if their arguments were to be taken literally, would sacrifice the whole of our position in the East, the magnificent legacy of the Clives and the Lawrences, the pride of a great Commonwealth made one by the social sea, all to bring a passing smile to the lips of the Sheikhs of Tulkeram.

Let us leave military matters and turn to the considerations of high commercial policy. The policy of Germany, which led to the war, was a deliberate and conscious attempt to found a Middle Eastern Empire from Hamburg to Baghdad. To realize this ambition it was necessary to sweep aside Powers like Serbia, who stood in the way of its territorial continuity, and Powers like France and Russia, who were in a position to menace it from the flanks. The real subject of the war was the East, and it was only the geographical accident that France and England, her most powerful opponents, were at the extreme north-western flank of the projected Middle Eastern Empire, that made France the main centre of the military operations. The commercial instrument of this great Imperial scheme was the Baghdad railway, which with its European connections was a German counterpart of Cecil Rhodes' great scheme of a Cape to Cairo railway. The Baghdad railway had a branch connecting with the sea at Alexandretta, and it is not, therefore, just to think of it as a purely trans-continental project; as time went on and Germany's hold on Turkey and the Balkans had tightened, there would have been other branches to the sea, and British shipping might have shared in the development of commerce, or on the other hand it might not. No one

can foresee what might have happened had Germany's plans not been defeated by Great Britain in the war. But when once the war had been joined, the defeat of German commercial ambitions in the East became hardly less important than the defeat of her political ambitions.

There was a British consul in Egypt at the time of the French revolution named Baldwin, who on one occasion ascended the Great Pyramid and poured out libations from three bottles of water—from the Thames, the Ganges, and the Nile—and toasted the union of the three rivers and the expansion of British commerce through Egypt. He forgot the Tigris and the Euphrates; and of this fourth river system, not Egypt, but Palestine, is the key. "The struggle is between the north-western and the western and south-western trade routes. We are interested" (we are quoting from a book written in 1917 in the middle of the war) "in deflecting the trade to its southerly routes in any case, but directly interested if Palestine is to become a British colony. The defeat of the Baghdad railway project and the assurance of a great commercial future to Palestine are thus different aspects of the one question. Haifa to the Persian Gulf is the British alternative to the German ideal of Baghdad to Berlin."* The phrasing of these words would be different if they were being written now, but the idea is substantially sound. Palestine enables us to tap and divert by the way of the sea to Haifa the southern half of the trade that would have gone by the Baghdad railway if German ambitions had been realized, and that without the entanglement of any Imperialist designs on Turkey.

The commercial and industrial prospects of Palestine are discussed elsewhere; but the commercial greatness of Palestine, in the future as in the past, will be as a great entrepôt of the trade from other countries. The "way of the sea" from Mesopotamia goes through her territory to Haifa, and in the days to come Haifa

* "England and Palestine," pp. 194-195.

is destined to become greater than Alexandria. The time of Palestine's chief material prosperity was probably when the Greeks colonized the whole of Trans-Jordania, or perhaps later when Trajan had re-established the *pax Romana* in the same district. People wonder why a country that looked out on to the desert should have attained such material splendour as is evidenced by the ruins, forgetting that the edge of the desert is really the coast of a sea. The desert, like the sea, yields no fruits, but it is the way by which the fruits come. No one can foresee the magnificent possibilities that this way of the sea may open up to Palestine, but two things are certain. Whatever they are worth—and Germany thought them worth a great war—we owe it to Zionism if their advantage redounds to us. And the Jewish trader may be trusted to develop these trade prospects to the full. And yet there are those who once were excited about the German Baghdad to Hamburg project, and have not even begun to suspect that, thanks to our position in Palestine, the stream of profit may set our way. They talk of waste, forgetting that the classic example of waste in the world of to-day is Turkey's vast, neglected, and ruined estate.

The strategic and commercial advantages of our alliance with Zionism have been touched upon. There is one other aspect of Zionism that is always being overlooked. For the last fifty years the Irish, owing to our failures, have been the worst enemies of England all over the world. But the Jew, too, is ubiquitous. If we wish, having removed the enmity of Ireland, to make a new enemy, the way is clear. We need only repudiate our promises to the Zionists. It would have been easy for us to make no promises; we should not have acquired Jewish support in America and elsewhere, which was exceedingly valuable to us in the war, but we should have raised no hopes. But having raised those hopes, we must fulfil them to the best of our ability. The position of being the protector

of the Jewish national home is one that many nations would eat out their hearts to hold ; it gives us a garrison in every country of the world as disposed to friendship to this country as the Irish were disposed to enmity, a sure assistance to our diplomacy, a vast store of pro-British propaganda placed gratuitously at our service. On the other hand, if we go back on our promises, the penalty would be correspondingly great. Inevitably we should make enemies of those who would have been friends, enemies embittered by the granting and then the mocking of their age-long prayers, and all leagued together to say the same thing—that the British word is not to be trusted, and her service to the ideal of Jewish nationhood, thwarted and wronged for nearly two thousand years, only a cruel jest.

APPENDIX I

THE RUTENBERG CONCESSION

An Agreement made the twenty-first day of September 1921 **Between** THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES of Number 4 Millbank in the City of Westminster (who and the Crown Agents for the Colonies for the time being are hereinafter called "the Crown Agents") acting for and on behalf of the Right Honourable Sir Herbert Samuel G.B.E. High Commissioner for Palestine of the one part and PINHAS RUTENBERG of Jerusalem Palestine Civil Engineer (hereinafter called "the Applicant") of the other part WHEREAS the Applicant has applied to the High Commissioner for Palestine for the grant to a Company to be formed by the Applicant of a Concession in the form appearing in the Schedule hereto.

Now it is hereby agreed as follows:

1. If the Applicant within two years from the date of this Agreement at the expense in all things of the Applicant or of the Company to be formed as hereinafter mentioned shall procure—

- (i.) that a limited liability company (hereinafter referred to as "the said Company") having an authorized capital of not less than £1,000,000 be formed and registered in Palestine with the object (amongst others) of accepting a grant or taking a transfer from the Applicant of such Concession as is set forth in the Schedule hereto and undertaking the fulfilment of the obligations imposed by such Concession;

- (ii.) that the share capital of the said Company to the amount of £200,000 at the least shall be subscribed and paid for in cash;

then the High Commissioner of Palestine for the time being will on application at any time within the said two years being made by the Applicant or the said Company cause to be granted to the said Company a Concession in the terms set forth in the Schedule hereto. And in the meantime the High Commissioner will not grant any Concession or licence conflicting with the Concession in the said Schedule.

2. The Memorandum and Articles of Association of or other the regulations and constitution of the said Company shall be subject to the approval of the High Commissioner for Palestine in agreement with the Jewish Agency referred to in the Mandate for Palestine.

3. Every approval or notice to be given by the Crown Agents which would otherwise require the signature of the Crown Agents may be given in writing signed by one of them or by some representative duly authorized by them.

4. Every statement or representation having reference to the Concession hereby agreed to be granted to be set forth in any prospectus notice advertisement or circular inviting subscriptions to the capital of the undertaking to be issued in Palestine or the United Kingdom by or on behalf of the Company shall be first submitted to the High Commissioner or the Crown Agents as the case may be together with the whole of such prospectus or other document before the same shall be issued and the same shall not be issued if the High Commissioner or the Crown Agents as the case may be shall within fourteen days after any such statement or representation has been so submitted serve on the Company notice disapproving of the same and in the

event of any breach of this clause it shall be lawful for the High Commissioner by notice in writing to be served on the Company to determine this Concession. Provided that any approval given under this clause shall in no way extend or be deemed to extend to any other statement or representation contained in or implied by any such prospectus or other document as aforesaid and that neither the High Commissioner nor the Crown Agents shall by reason of any such approval be represented or deemed to have in any way authorized the issue of such prospectus or other document as aforesaid.

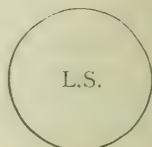
5. The Crown Agents enter into this Contract for the purpose of binding the High Commissioner for Palestine but they shall not nor shall any officer or member of the Government be in any way personally liable for or in respect of any matter or thing hereby made obligatory on the Crown Agents or the High Commissioner for Palestine.

6. The Applicant will on the execution of this Agreement pay to the Crown Agents all sums payable by the Crown Agents to their Solicitors for or in respect of their costs charges and expenses in and about the negotiation preparation printing approval and execution of this Agreement and of the form of Concession set forth in the Schedule hereto and the specification and financial statement scheduled to such form of Concession. The Applicant or the said Company will also pay to the Crown Agents all costs charges and expenses of their Solicitors in and about the perusal and approval of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of or other the regulations and constitution of the said Company and all further costs charges and expenses of their Solicitors in and about the completion and execution of the said concession and the preparation printing and approval of any modification or alterations thereof which may be proposed or agreed to.

IN WITNESS whereof Sir William Hepworth Mercer one of the Crown Agents for the Colonies and the Applicant have set their respective hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed sealed and delivered by
the above-named Sir William
Hepworth Mercer K.C.M.G. in
the presence of

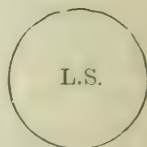
CHARLES BURCHELL,
5, The Sanctuary, Westminster,
Solicitor.



W. H. MERCER.

Signed sealed and delivered by the
above-named Pinhas Rutenberg
in the presence of

H. C. NATHAN,
1, Finsbury Square,
London,
Solicitor.



PINHAS RUTENBERG.

THE SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO.

FORM OF CONCESSION.

PALESTINE.

THIS INDENTURE made the day of
1921 between THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR
HERBERT SAMUEL G.B.E. High Commissioner for
Palestine of the one part and THE
COMPANY LIMITED A Company incorporated in
the year 192 in Palestine having its registered
office at in
Palestine (which and its successors and permitted
assigns are hereinafter called "the Company")
of the other part WITNESSETH AND IT IS HEREBY
AGREED AND DECLARED as follows: that is to say:—

Definitions.

1. In these presents the following words and expressions shall have the following meanings respectively:—

- (A) "The High Commissioner" means the High Commissioner for Palestine for the time being;
- (B) "The Concession area" means and includes Palestine and Trans-Jordania and such additional territories as shall for the time being and from time to time be under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner other than and except such part thereof as is within the district which is under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Jaffa and is included in another Concession (hereinafter referred to as "the Auja Concession") granted or agreed to be granted by or on behalf of the High Commissioner to Pinhas Rutenberg for the utilization of the waters of the Auja Basin for generating and supplying electrical energy within such last mentioned district;

- (c) "The undertaking" means the business of generating supplying and distributing electrical energy under this Concession and all buildings works engines dynamos plant machinery wires cables fixtures and other like property which shall for the time being be used by the Company for any of the purposes of this Concession but not money or securities for money;
- (d) "Month" means calendar month.

Grant of Concession for Seventy Years.

2. The High Commissioner hereby grants to the Company for the period of seventy years computed from the day of the date hereof an exclusive Concession for the utilization (a) of such of the waters of the River Jordan and its basin including the Yarmuk River and all other the affluents of the River Jordan and its basin as are now or shall hereafter be brought within the control of the High Commissioner and (b) of such of the waters of those parts of the River Jordan and its basin together with the affluents thereof including the River Yarmuk and its affluents outside the boundaries of the territories under the control of the High Commissioner as shall under the Anglo-French Convention dated 23rd December 1920 or otherwise howsoever have been or be determined to be available for utilization for the purposes of Palestine and/or Trans-Jordania for the purpose of generating by power derived from such waters and supplying and distributing within the Concession area electrical energy and for those purposes or any of them to erect a power house near Jisr-el-Mujamyeh and to employ and use Lake Tiberias as a reservoir for the storage of water in connection therewith and to erect any other power house or power houses (with the corresponding reservoirs if necessary) which the Company may think fit to erect and with liberty for the Company during the said period to produce supply and distribute electrical energy within

the Concession area by any other means than water power and it shall be lawful for the Company to grant licences to others for all or any part of the said term to utilize the said waters or any part thereof for the purpose of generating supplying and distributing electrical energy as aforesaid and to execute and operate all works necessary for that purpose but so always that no such licence shall in any case be granted unless the proposed licensee shall in each case have been first approved of in writing by the High Commissioner.

Works to be Executed.

3. Included in the works to be built erected and set up for the purpose of this Concession shall be—

- (A) A dam on the River Jordan near Kerak;
- (B) A canal for conducting the water from Lake Tiberias to the Jisr-el-Mujamyeh Power House;
- (C) A sufficient number of pressure pipes for the purpose of conveying the water from the said canal to the turbines at the said power house;
- (D) The said power house at Jisr-el-Mujamyeh with proper and sufficient engines turbines dynamos machinery plant apparatus and things as shall be capable of producing supplying and maintaining such an amount of electrical energy as shall be sufficient for the requirements of the High Commissioner and the reasonable requirements of all local authorities companies corporations and persons desirous of using the same within the Concession area;
- (E) The high medium and low tension transmission lines and cables necessary for the constant and regular supply of the electrical energy required within the Concession area;
- (F) The necessary transformer stations for the purposes of the said Concession;

- (G) The entire distribution system of electrical energy within the Concession area;
- (H) The connection of the electrical system to the consumers' meters;
- (I) All other necessary works.

Power to Company to Dam up Water in the Lake of Tiberias to Certain Level.

4. It shall be lawful for the Company to dam up the water in Lake Tiberias to a level not exceeding the recorded maximum level of the lake at any time of high water during the period of three years commencing from the 1st of October 1918 and to conduct the water from Lake Tiberias by means of the said canal to the said power house and the Company shall as soon as is practicable and with all expedition make good all damage done to and restore all Government roads bridges drains culverts and watercourses which may be disturbed or interfered with in the execution by the Company of the works incidental to this Concession and so that such restoration shall be effected and proceed so far as may be contemporaneously with the progress of the said works. And the Company shall at all times keep indemnified the High Commissioner from and against all actions proceedings damages expenses and costs which may be occasioned by any breach of this clause.

Power to Company to Divert Waters of Yarmuk River and its Affluents.

5. It shall be lawful for the Company to divert and use the waters of the Yarmuk River and its affluents either into the canal mentioned in Clause 4 hereof or into Lake Tiberias by means of a dam and a canal beginning near El Hamma and ending in Lake Tiberias and to use the fall of such water into Lake Tiberias for the production of electrical energy if the Company shall so require and to divert and use the waters of the Yarmuk River and its affluents if and where necessary for the purposes of the due execution of this Concession.

Provision for Protection of Existing Users of Water within Concession Area.

6. The Company shall supply all existing owners of land within and all existing users of water within the Concession area with such an amount of water from such of the waters of the River Jordan and its basin including the Yarmuk River and all other the affluents of the River Jordan and its basin as are now or shall hereafter be brought under the control of the High Commissioner as shall be reasonably necessary for the requirements and purposes of such existing owners and users but not exceeding the quantity which they now respectively enjoy upon such conditions as the High Commissioner shall from time to time approve and in the event of any diminution in the quantity of such supply the Company shall pay to the said owners and users or such of them as shall suffer a diminution in his or their supply fair compensation in respect of such diminution.

Power to Company to Erect Poles and Standards for Transmission Lines and to Lay Underground Cables.

7. It shall be lawful for the Company to erect poles and standards for the high medium and low tension transmission lines and to lay underground cables under public roads and streets wherever required but so that immediately after every disturbance of any roads or streets for the purposes aforesaid the same shall be restored to their former condition.

Company to Protect against High Tension Lines.

8. The Company shall at all times take all adequate and appropriate measures required by the High Commissioner to give protection against the high tension lines including protection for any telegraph or telephone lines.

Distribution System.

9. The Company shall have the exclusive right to build establish and maintain the necessary distribution systems in every centre of consumption of electrical energy.

Company to Make Over Distribution of Energy to Local Authorities.

10. The Company shall if required by the High Commissioner in writing transfer and make over to the municipalities or local councils or authorities the distribution of electrical energy in the various localities on terms and conditions to be agreed between the parties and to be approved of in writing by the High Commissioner. And in the event of any such transfer being agreed and approved as aforesaid the Company shall generate and transmit to the corresponding substations of the municipalities or local councils or authorities concerned the electrical energy which is required to be transmitted to them respectively.

Company to Connect with Consumers' Meters and to Make Rules.

11. The Company shall undertake the connection of the said electrical system with the meters on the consumers' premises at cost price plus a moderate charge and the Company shall be entitled to charge a moderate annual rental for electrical meters supplied and installed by the Company for the purpose of measuring the amount of electrical energy consumed by each consumer. The Company shall be entitled to make rules and regulations to be observed by consumers of electrical energy supplied by the Company but such rules and regulations shall not be put into force nor issued until the same shall have been first approved of in writing by the High Commissioner.

Power to Company to Erect Telegraph and Telephone System.

12. The Company shall be entitled to erect and operate a telegraph and telephone system connecting the power houses of the Company with the various offices and establishments of the Company's undertaking within the Concession area but so that the said telegraph and telephone system shall be used exclusively for the purposes of this Concession and shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Postal Authorities in Palestine.

High Commissioner to Expropriate Existing Undertakings.

13. At the request in writing of the Company the High Commissioner shall on behalf of and at the cost of the Company expropriate on payment of fair compensation agreed by the Company or failing agreement determined in accordance with the provisions of any Treaty in force at the time or by arbitration between the owners or owner of such property and the High Commissioner any existing undertakings for the generation supply distribution or sale of electrical energy within the Concession area. Provided always that the Company shall if and whenever required by the High Commissioner so to do deposit with the High Commissioner or give satisfactory security for the payment to the High Commissioner of such a sum of money as the High Commissioner shall consider likely to prove to be the fair compensation to be paid for the undertaking proposed to be expropriated which sum shall in the event of the undertaking in question being expropriated be applied in or towards payment of the compensation payable for such expropriation and any balance required for that purpose shall be paid by the Company on demand and any surplus shall be repaid to the Company on demand.

High Commissioner to Expropriate Lands, Buildings, or Easements in Certain Cases.

14. At the request in writing of the Company the High Commissioner shall on behalf and at the cost of the Company expropriate when purchase cannot be effected by mutual agreement on payment of fair compensation agreed by the Company or failing agreement determined in accordance with the Law of Expropriation in force for the time being in Palestine any property land buildings or easement required for the building of the dams for the construction of the canals for the erection of the power houses for the necessary buildings premises offices warehouses houses stores and other establishments and conveniences of the Concession for the production transmission and distribution of energy within the Concession area and for the building of roads bridges private sidings wharves and any other means of communication required for the purposes of the Concession. Provided always that the Company shall if and whenever required so to do deposit with the High Commissioner or give satisfactory security for the payment to the High Commissioner of such a sum of money as the High Commissioner shall consider likely to prove to be the fair compensation for the property land buildings or easement proposed to be expropriated which sum shall in the event of the property in question being expropriated be applied in or towards payment of the compensation payable for such expropriation and on demand any balance required for that purpose shall be paid by the Company and any surplus shall be repaid to the Company. And the Company shall have the right subject to payment of fair compensation as aforesaid to establish any easements in respect of the said works and for the proper effective and convenient working of the Concession.

Power to Local Authorities to Require Light between Dusk and Dawn.

15. The Company shall if so required by the local authorities provide electric light in their respective areas for public or private purposes between dusk and dawn but subject thereto the Company shall be free to supply electric light and power to private consumers at their request.

Company may Dispose of Surplus Electrical Energy outside the Concession Area.

16. The Company shall be entitled during the continuance of this Concession to supply and distribute for consumption outside the Concession area electrical energy generated under this Concession provided that the needs of the Concession area shall have been satisfied and provided also that such supply outside the Concession area shall not in any way whatsoever interfere with or prejudice any existing or future similar Concession outside the said area or the holder thereof and the Company shall not permit or suffer any such electrical energy to be consumed outside the Concession area so as in any way whatsoever to interfere with or prejudice any such other Concession or the holder thereof.

Company to Complete Whole Works Fit for Use within Five Years.

17. The Company shall within twelve months from the date of this Concession commence to build make construct and set up in accordance with the provisions set forth in the first Schedule hereto the Jisr-el-Mujamyeh Power House and the transmission and distribution of energy therefrom and thenceforth diligently proceed with and shall within five years from the date of this Concession completely build make construct finish erect and set up fit for use with proper

materials of their several kinds the dams canals and other works necessary for the proper working of the said power house at Jisr-el-Mujamyeh and the transmission and distribution of electrical energy therefrom with proper and sufficient engines turbines dynamos transformers machinery plant mains lines wires cables poles and other apparatus equipment and things which shall be requisite and proper for working the Company's undertaking. Provided always that the Company shall be granted an extension of the said respective periods of twelve months for the commencement and five years for the completion of the works aforesaid if and as often as the Company shall be prevented by *force majeure* from commencing or completing the same within the said respective periods of twelve months and five years or for any other reason which shall from time to time be agreed between the High Commissioner and the Company to be a sufficient and proper reason for an extension or extensions or which (failing such agreement) shall be determined to be a sufficient and proper reason by arbitration as provided by Clause 43 hereof. And in case the Company shall fail or neglect to finish and complete the said works within the said period of five years or within any such extended period as aforesaid the Company shall pay to the High Commissioner for every subsequent month's delay in completing the said works the sum of £2,000 per month and so in proportion for any part of a month as liquidated and ascertained damages and not as a penalty. And in case the Company shall fail or neglect to finish or complete the said works in all respects within twelve months from the expiration of the said period of five years or of any such extended period or periods as aforesaid it shall be lawful for the High Commissioner (subject and without prejudice to the continuing liability of the Company to pay the liquidated damages aforesaid up to the time of the notice) at any time after the expiration of such twelve months by notice in writing to the Company to cancel this Concession

without paying to the Company any compensation for work theretofore done by the Company in part performance of their obligations or otherwise and in the event of such cancellation the Company shall not for a period of twelve months from such cancellation be entitled to remove any buildings works machinery or apparatus erected or set up by the Company under this Concession so as to give time to the High Commissioner to decide whether or not he desires to take over the same or any of them and if he shall at any time within such last mentioned period of twelve months give notice in writing to the Company signifying his desire to take over the said buildings works machinery and apparatus or any of them then and in that case the things specified in such notice shall not be removed by the Company but shall be purchased by the High Commissioner at a price to be determined in case of dispute by arbitration under the provisions of Clause 43 hereof and for twelve months after the receipt of such notice the Company shall be at liberty without let or hindrance to remove any buildings works machinery or apparatus not specified in the said notice and in default of such notice the Company shall be at liberty without let or hindrance to remove the whole of the said buildings works machinery and apparatus during the twelve months following upon the expiration of the said twelve months during which the High Commissioner might have given the said notice.

All Works to be in Accordance with Plans.

18. The power houses buildings dams canals works turbines engines dynamos transformers machinery plant fixtures apparatus and other things to be built constructed made and set up by the Company under the Concession shall be built made constructed and set up to the satisfaction of the High Commissioner in accordance with the plans referred to in the first Schedule hereto with such modifications or variations

as shall be first approved of in writing by the High Commissioner.

18A. The Company shall be entitled to build set up establish and carry on such factories works and undertakings as may from time to time be necessary or convenient for the production of material and machinery required for the purposes of this Concession. And shall also be entitled to build set up establish and carry on such factories works and undertakings as may be able to utilize large quantities of electrical energy.

Rates of Payment for Electrical Energy.

19. Subject to the provisions of Clauses 20 30 and 31 hereof the Company shall provide electrical energy to the consumers' meters at rates not exceeding the following that is to say:—

- (A) For electric lighting in private houses three piastres per kilowatt hour;
- (B) For street lighting water supply irrigation and for industrial purposes one-and-a-half piastres per kilowatt hour;

and for large consumers of energy the rates shall be fixed by special agreement between the Company and the consumers and for other purposes such as heating and cooking the rates shall not exceed maximum rates to be fixed in agreement with the High Commissioner.

Provisions as to Charges and Profits.

20. (i.) The Company shall be entitled within the period of ten years from the date of this Concession to submit to the High Commissioner for his approval a scheme for a sliding scale of rates to be charged to consumers of electrical energy but such scheme of rates shall not be put in force or charged without the consent in writing of the High Commissioner first obtained and subject as aforesaid and subject to the provisions of Clause 30 hereof the said rates of charge

mentioned in Clause 19 hereof shall not be increased for a period of ten years from the date of this Concession and shall not thereafter be increased except under and in accordance with the provisions hereinafter contained.

(ii.) If at the expiration of ten years from the date hereof it shall appear that the Company is unable out of its profits to write off the sums (A) for the Amortisation of the Capital of the Company (B) for Depreciation and (c) for Reserve indicated in the financial plan set forth in the second Schedule hereto and to pay a dividend of not less than eight per centum per annum tax free on its share capital for the time being issued the Company shall have the right to increase the said rates to such an extent as may be calculated in the opinion of the High Commissioner to enable the Company to pay future dividends at such rate per annum. And if in any year the profits of the Company shall be sufficient to enable it to write off the sums (if any) required for Amortisation of its Capital Depreciation and Reserve during the same year as indicated in the said financial plan and to declare a dividend of not less than ten per centum per annum tax free and less than twenty per centum per annum tax free for the same year on its capital for the time being issued then one half of the net profits of the Company during the same year in excess of the amount which would be necessary to enable the Company to write off the sums aforesaid (if any) and to pay a dividend at the rate of ten per centum per annum tax free shall be paid to the High Commissioner. And if in any year the profits of the Company shall be sufficient to enable it to write off the sums if any required for Amortisation of Capital Depreciation and Reserve during the same year as indicated in the said financial plan and to declare a dividend amounting to or exceeding twenty per centum per annum tax free for the same year then the whole of the profits of the Company during the same year in excess of the amount which would be necessary to

enable it during the same year to write off the sums (if any) last aforesaid and to pay a dividend of fifteen per centum tax free on its capital for the time being issued shall be paid to the High Commissioner. All sums of money which under this sub-clause are to be paid to the High Commissioner shall be applied by the High Commissioner to the reduction of rates or to such other purposes as shall from time to time be agreed by the High Commissioner with the Company.

(iii.) The Company shall at all times perform observe and abide by the rules and regulations as to Amortisation of Capital and Depreciation and Reserve contained in the financial plan set forth in the second Schedule hereto. Provided that no part of the Depreciation or Reserve Funds shall be capitalized but any income derived from such funds shall be treated as part of the profits of the Company.

Provision for Extension of Seventy Years in Certain Events.

21. The said term of seventy years for which this Concession is hereinbefore expressed to be granted shall be extended if the scheme for the amortisation of the capital of the Company is not carried out within the time limited by the said financial plan set forth in the second Schedule hereto then by two years for every year by which such amortisation is delayed beyond the time specified in the said plan.

Provisions in Event of Company Acquiring Other Similar Concessions.

21A. If the Company shall absorb take over or acquire any other Concession or Concessions for the production supply distribution and sale of electrical energy then the period or respective periods of the Concession or Concessions so acquired if shorter than the term of this Concession shall be extended so as to be coterminous with the term hereby granted. And the provisions of this Concession shall (so far as the

same may be applicable to the Concession or Concessions so acquired by the Company) apply to the Concession or Concessions so acquired and shall be in addition to any special provisions contained in such acquired Concession or Concessions respectively: Provided always that any rights or powers which the High Commissioner may possess or enjoy under any and every such acquired Concession to purchase or acquire the same shall be modified or varied and made exercisable so as to conform with the powers and provisions herein contained for the purchase by the High Commissioner of the undertaking under this present Concession.

Financial and Technical Supervision.

22. During the term of this Concession (as well the said original term of seventy years as any extended term) the High Commissioner shall have the right to exercise such financial and technical supervision over the operations of the Company as shall be necessary for the purpose of ensuring the due and proper working of the Concession and the Company shall conform with all the requirements of the High Commissioner necessary for ensuring such due and proper working. The Company shall not issue or raise any Debentures or other loan capital except with the consent in writing of the High Commissioner first had and obtained and subject only to such terms and conditions as may be approved by him and to proper provisions for the complete amortisation of such Debentures or other loan capital at the expiration of the said term of seventy years but the Company shall be at liberty to provide for such complete amortisation at an earlier date.

Power to Purchase.

23. If the High Commissioner shall be desirous of purchasing the undertaking at the expiration of the thirty-seventh forty-seventh fifty-seventh or sixty-seventh year of the said term hereby granted and of

such desire shall give to the Company twelve months previous notice in writing then the High Commissioner may at the expiration of the said thirty-seventh forty-seventh fifty-seventh or sixty-seventh year of the said term as the case may be purchase the undertaking and the benefit of all then existing contracts (subject to the obligations thereof) on the following terms and in the event of the High Commissioner deciding to make such purchase the last day computed from the date hereof of the thirty-seventh forty-seventh fifty-seventh or sixty-seventh year of the said term as the case may be for which such notice to purchase shall be so given shall be and the same is hereinafter referred to as "the date of purchase":—

- (A) The High Commissioner shall pay to the Company any sum or sums necessary to complete so far as the same shall be then incomplete the amortisation of the capital of the Company in accordance with the financial plan set forth in the second Schedule hereto.
- (B) The High Commissioner shall further pay to the Company a sum equal to the capitalized value at the time of purchase of the estimated profits of the Company for the residue then unexpired of the term of this Concession less an amount equal to interest on the issued capital of the Company for the same period. The said estimated profits shall be computed on the basis of the average annual profits of the Company which shall during the five years immediately preceding the purchase remain available (whether so used or not) for dividend after writing off the sums for amortisation depreciation and reserve and the rate of discount adopted in computing the said capitalized value shall be the average rate of discount for three months British Treasury

Bills during the twelve months preceding the purchase and the rate of interest aforesaid shall be identical with the said rate of discount provided that in no case shall the deduction in respect of interest exceed the amount due to the Company in respect of estimated profits nor shall the sum payable to the Company under this sub-clause exceed 50 per cent. of the issued capital of the Company.

- (c) The High Commissioner shall also pay to the Company adequate compensation for installations and repairs (other than repairs required by ordinary wear and tear) effected during the fifteen years immediately preceding the said purchase in so far as the payment or recoupment for such installations and repairs is not covered by the provision for depreciation hereinbefore referred to and in so far as such installations and repairs have been paid for out of profits which if not so used would have been available for distribution to the shareholders as dividend.
- (d) The High Commissioner shall take over the benefits and obligations and keep the Company indemnified in respect of any contracts for fuel materials supplies meters apparatus and instruments.
- (e) In the event of the purchase of the undertaking by the High Commissioner under this clause then so much of the said reserve as shall be existing at the date of the purchase shall in the first place be appropriated and applied in or towards paying or making good to the Company the deficiency (if any) by which the annual profits of the Company to the same date shall have been insufficient to pay (whether actually paid or not) an average dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum tax free from the formation of the Company to the

date of purchase. And any balance of the reserve remaining after such appropriation and payment shall belong to and be paid to the High Commissioner.

- (F) If at the date of such purchase there shall be outstanding any Debenture or other loan capital of the Company authorized under Clause 22 hereof the High Commissioner shall take over the liabilities of the Company in respect thereof but shall be entitled to the benefit of any existing funds for the amortisation of the same.
- (G) Save as hereinbefore provided the Company shall pay satisfy and discharge all their debts and liabilities in connection with the said undertaking existing on the date of purchase and shall indemnify the High Commissioner against all proceedings claims and demands in respect thereof.
- (H) The staff in the employ of the Company at the date of purchase of the undertaking by the High Commissioner shall remain in the service of the undertaking in the hands of the High Commissioner during at least one year after the date of purchase or shall be given adequate compensation in accordance with or on the basis of the conditions of their engagement of service with the Company.

Provisions for Renewal of Concession.

24. If the High Commissioner shall not in the meantime have purchased the undertaking under the provisions of the last preceding clause then the Company may at any time during the sixty-eighth year of the term hereby granted apply to the High Commissioner for an extension of the term of this Concession and in the event of such application being made by the Company the High Commissioner shall be under no obligation to grant any such extension but the High

Commissioner shall nevertheless before the expiration of the sixty-ninth year of the said term definitely assent to or refuse such extension and in the same case but in the event of such application not being made by the Company then at the expiration of the said term of seventy years or of any actual extension thereof as aforesaid this Concession may if the High Commissioner so decides be renewed and in that case the Company shall have the first refusal of such renewal. Should the High Commissioner refuse to renew this Concession or should the Company within six months after the offer refuse to renew it the installation with all its buildings works fittings and accessories shall pass into the ownership of the High Commissioner free of charge subject to the payment by him of adequate compensation for any supplies of fuel materials apparatus meters and instruments in stock or in transport or on order belonging to and/or paid for by the Company. Should the Company in the meantime have set up any laboratory or other scientific establishment or established a library and should the High Commissioner take over such establishment and/or library the High Commissioner shall pay adequate compensation therefor. And the Company shall be entitled to claim adequate compensation at the date of taking over for such installations and repairs (other than repairs required by ordinary wear and tear) as shall have been effected within fifteen years immediately preceding the date of the expiration of this Concession and are not covered by the provisions for depreciation hereinbefore referred to and in so far as such installations and repairs have been paid for out of profits which if not so used would have been available for distribution to the shareholders as dividend.

No Other Electrical Installations Permitted.

25. During the continuance of this Concession no other installation for the production supply and distribution of electrical energy shall be permitted by the

High Commissioner in the Concession area other than such installations for power and light as are intended exclusively for the use of the person or persons or corporation installing the same and subject as aforesaid and subject to the provisions of the next subsequent clause hereof the Company shall have the exclusive right throughout the Concession area for the distribution and sale of electrical energy.

No Similar Concession to be Granted to Others in this Area during Continuance of Concession.

26. During the continuance of this Concession no further Concession shall be granted within or over the Concession area to any person or Company other than the Company for any of the purposes following viz.: (1) to construct canals dams reservoirs water courses pumping stations and other works of whatever kind for the generation of electrical energy from water power (2) to construct equip instal and operate water or fuel or other electric power stations (3) to construct equip instal and operate overhead lines and underground cables (4) to instal electric lighting in streets dwellings and buildings of whatever kind (5) to supply electrical energy for consumption by docks wharves railways plantations mills factories workshops laboratories offices houses and by all agricultural industrial commercial and public or private establishments and undertakings of whatever kind unless in each instance the Concession shall have first been offered to the Company upon similar terms which shall be fair and reasonable and such offer shall not have been accepted in writing by the Company within six months. Provided always that nothing in this clause contained shall be construed as restricting the carrying out or construction or operation by the High Commissioner or any other person or persons Company or Companies of any telegraph or telephone works within the Concession area and the provisions of this clause are to be subject and without prejudice to the provisions of Clause 35 hereof.

Power to Require Supply of Additional Energy.

27. (A) If at any time after the completion by the Company of the works provided for under this Concession the requirements of the Concession area for electrical energy shall be such that the works of the Company for the time being in existence shall be unable to supply the amount required then and in such case and as often as the same may happen the High Commissioner and with the consent of the High Commissioner any and every local authority within the Concession area requiring the same shall be entitled to give to the Company notice in writing to produce the required additional energy. Should the Company be willing to comply with such notice an agreement to be approved of by the High Commissioner shall be entered into between the Company and the party requiring such energy determining the terms and conditions regulating the supply of such additional energy. If the Company shall refuse to enter into such agreement or having entered into such agreement shall be unable or neglect to provide the additional energy within one year after the date of the agreement aforesaid then the High Commissioner or the local authority or authorities shall from and immediately after the date of any such refusal or the expiration of the said one year whichever shall first happen be at liberty to obtain such additional energy elsewhere and for the purpose of procuring such additional energy the High Commissioner may empower any other Company firm or person or persons to generate and supply electrical energy within the Concession area notwithstanding any provision to the contrary herein contained.

Power to Require Company to Construct Electric Tramway or Railway.

(B) If the High Commissioner or with the consent of the High Commissioner any local authority or authorities within the Concession area shall require

the building or constructing by the Company of an electric tramway or tramways railway or railways the Company shall within twelve months from the date of the requisition decide whether or not the Company is prepared to construct the same and if and so soon as the Company shall within the said twelve months decide so to do the Company shall proceed with all due diligence to construct and complete the work required on terms and conditions to be incorporated in an agreement between the High Commissioner or local authority or authorities as the case may be and the Company: but if the Company shall at any time within the said twelve months decline to construct such work or if it shall neglect to comply with the terms and conditions contained in such last mentioned agreement then forthwith and immediately after the Company shall have declined so to do or upon the neglect of the Company to comply with the said terms and conditions the High Commissioner or the local authority as the case may be requiring the same shall be at liberty to procure the building and construction of the work required by any other person or persons firm or Company.

Company's Undertaking to be Recognized as a Public Utility Body.

28. The undertaking of the Company under this Concession shall be recognized as a public utility body under Government control and all the installations and property of the undertaking shall receive protection as such and the Company shall be entitled only to such rights to compensation for damage as are provided by law.

High Commissioner to Annul any Existing Competing Concession.

29. In the event of there being any valid pre-existing Concession covering the whole or any part of the present Concession the High Commissioner if

requested in writing by the Company so to do shall take the necessary measures for annulling such Concession on payment of fair compensation agreed by the Company or failing agreement determined by arbitration between the owner of such Concession and the High Commissioner and the Company shall indemnify the High Commissioner against any compensation that may be due or become payable in respect of any such annulled Concession to the extent to which it affects this present Concession and shall be entitled to increase the capital of the Company and the rates of charge to be made to consumers of electrical energy correspondingly and the amount of any compensation to become payable and to be paid in respect of any such annulled Concession shall be paid in agreement with the Company and in default of agreement be determined by arbitration between the owner or owners of such pre-existing Concession and the High Commissioner or other appropriate procedure.

Partial Relief of Company from Taxation.

30. If any taxation shall be imposed in Palestine which would fall upon the profits of the Company in respect of this Concession during the first ten years of its currency any part of the profits of the Company which is actually devoted to the amortisation of the capital of the Company depreciation and reserve in accordance with the said financial plan shall for the purpose of such taxation be deemed to be expenses and not profits so as to be free of tax and during the same period of ten years no tax shall be levied on any profits of the Company over and above the expenses aforesaid unless the Company shall have made profits over and above such expenses sufficient to pay during the year for which the tax is levied and each preceding year of the said period a cumulative dividend of not less than six per centum per annum tax free. Provided always that after the expiration of the said period of ten years all the profits of the Company in

respect of this Concession after writing off amortisation depreciation and reserve shall be liable to tax and taxable at the appropriate rates for the time being in force in Palestine whatever the profits of the Company shall have been during the said period of ten years and the taxes at the appropriate rates for the time being in force shall thenceforth be leviable in respect of all the profits of the Company and shall be paid by the Company accordingly. If any tax shall be imposed after the date of this Concession upon electrical energy or if any tax or additional tax shall be imposed upon any fuel employed in the production of electrical energy the Company shall be entitled to increase the aforesaid rates of charge to be made to consumers mentioned in Clause 19 hereof by an equivalent amount subject nevertheless to the provisions of Clause 20 hereof.

30A. Subject to the provisions for the benefit of the local authorities contained in Clause 15 hereof the Company shall not in making any agreements for the supply of electricity show any undue preference to any Company or person but save as aforesaid the Company may make such charges for the supply of electrical energy to any consumer within the Concession area as may be agreed upon between the Company and such consumer so always that such charges shall not exceed the rates chargeable under Clauses 19, 20, 29 and 30 hereof.

Power to Defer Payment of Customs Duties.

31. All customs duties and import dues for the time being and from time to time leviable or chargeable upon imports into Palestine shall be payable by the Company upon all machinery or other materials imported by the Company into Palestine but so that the actual payment thereof shall if the Company so request be deferred until the profits of the Company after writing off amortisation depreciation and reserve are first sufficient to enable the Company to pay a

dividend of at least eight per centum per annum tax free upon its capital for the time being subscribed and thereafter the customs duties and import dues payable by the Company the payment whereof shall so have been deferred shall be paid by yearly instalments not exceeding five per centum of the total amount payable in respect of the customs duties and import dues the payments whereof shall have been so deferred. And the first of such instalments shall be payable and paid at the expiration of twelve months from the time when the profits of the Company shall first have been sufficient to enable the Company to pay such dividend as aforesaid and the subsequent instalments at successive intervals of twelve months until the whole is paid.

Company to Conform to Anti-Malarial Regulations.

32. The Company shall at all times conform to the terms of any anti-malarial regulations issued by the High Commissioner.

Company to Carry on Works Efficiently.

33. The Company shall at all times during the continuance of this Concession carry on and work the business of generating supplying and distributing electrical energy under and in accordance with this Concession in a proper and efficient manner and provide and pay a proper and sufficient and competent staff of employees for that purpose and maintain and renew the installations so far as may from time to time be required for the purposes of such business.

Nothing to Prevent Generation of Electrical Energy for Government Offices.

34. Nothing herein contained shall prevent the High Commissioner from generating electrical energy and supplying the same to any Government office within the Concession area or to any Government official or servant or prevent any person or persons or any firm or company generating electrical energy and using the

same for his or their own purposes within the Concession area but so that no such electrical energy shall be sold or otherwise disposed of within such area.

Company not to Assign Concession.

35. Except as otherwise herein provided the Company shall not assign sub-let or otherwise dispose of this Concession or any interest therein or any powers conferred hereby without the previous consent in writing of the High Commissioner.

Company to Keep Accounts and Permit Inspection by High Commissioner.

36. The Company shall at all times during the continuance of this Concession keep at the principal office in Palestine of the Company all proper and usual books and accounts showing the capital expenditure for the time being upon the undertaking and also all receipts and expenditure by the Company on account of revenue in connection with the undertaking which books and accounts shall be open at all times to inspection by the High Commissioner. The Company shall appoint some duly qualified person or firm approved of by the High Commissioner to act as Auditor and such Auditor shall not less than once in every year during the term of the Concession prepare and certify a proper balance sheet and profit and loss account of the undertaking and a copy of each such balance sheet and profit and loss account so certified shall forthwith be furnished to the High Commissioner.

Company not to Pollute Streams.

37. The Company shall not pollute or foul any of the waters of the said Rivers Jordan and Yarmuk or of their affluents or any other rivers or streams which may be used under this Concession. The Company shall compensate all persons or corporations who may suffer damage by the failure of the Company to comply

with the provisions of this clause and the Company shall at all times keep indemnified the High Commissioner from and against all actions proceedings damages expenses and costs which may be occasioned by any breach of this clause by the Company.

Power to High Commissioner to Delegate.

38. The High Commissioner may from time to time delegate to any other person or persons any of the powers and discretions vested in him under or by virtue of this Concession.

Any Prospectus or Advertisement to be Submitted for Approval.

39. Every statement or representation having reference to this Concession to be set forth in any prospectus notice advertisement or circular inviting subscriptions to the capital of the undertaking to be issued in Palestine or the United Kingdom by or on behalf of the Company shall be first submitted to the High Commissioner or the Crown Agents as the case may be together with the whole of such prospectus or other document before the same shall be issued and the same shall not be issued if the High Commissioner or the Crown Agents as the case may be shall within fourteen days after any such statement or representation has been so submitted serve on the Company notice disapproving of the same and in the event of any breach of this clause it shall be lawful for the High Commissioner by notice in writing to be served on the Company to determine this Concession. Provided that any approval given under this clause shall in no way extend or be deemed to extend to any other statement or representation contained in or implied by any such prospectus or other document as aforesaid and that neither the High Commissioner nor the Crown Agents shall by reason of any such approval be represented or deemed to have in any way authorized the issue of such prospectus or other document as aforesaid.

*High Commissioner not to be Personally Liable
Hereunder.*

40. The High Commissioner grants this Concession in virtue of his office and the High Commissioner shall not nor shall any Government officer be in any way personally liable for or in respect of any act matter or thing hereby made obligatory upon the High Commissioner.

Notices.

41. Any notice hereunder may be given to the Company by sending the same by registered post addressed to the Company at their principal office in Palestine and any such notice shall be deemed to have been given forty-eight hours after it was so posted.

Provisions in Case of Default.

42. Without prejudice to the provisions hereinbefore contained for the High Commissioner terminating this Concession and for the liability of the Company hereunder for liquidated damages if at any time during the continuance of this Concession the Company shall make default in performing or observing any of the other provisions of this Concession which ought to be performed or observed by the Company then and in any such case the High Commissioner may give to the Company notice in writing specifying the matter or matters in respect of which default has been made and requiring the Company to make good such default and if within six months from such notice being given the Company shall through its wilful neglect or default not have made good such default the High Commissioner may by giving notice in writing to the Company forthwith determine this Concession and in the event of such determination the provisions in Clause 17 hereof with regard to the property of the Company after cancellation shall apply as if the same were herein repeated.

Arbitration.

43. Except where otherwise expressly provided in these presents any and every dispute difference or question which shall arise between the High Commissioner and the Company as to the meaning or effect of any of the provisions of this Concession or otherwise in relation to the premises which cannot be settled by mutual agreement shall be referred to a board of arbitration which board shall consist of one arbitrator nominated by each of the parties to the dispute together with a third arbitrator agreed between the other two arbitrators or failing agreement some impartial person nominated by the Chief Justice of Palestine and such arbitration shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the Imperial Act of Parliament known as the Arbitration Act 1889 with such modifications as may be necessary.

Provided that if either the High Commissioner or the Company shall in writing so require the third arbitrator shall be some person not ordinarily resident in Palestine.

Interpretation.

44. These presents shall be interpreted and construed according to the laws of England and shall be given effect to accordingly.

IN WITNESS ETC.

THE FIRST SCHEDULE ABOVE
REFERRED TO.

TO CONTAIN PLANS ETC.
RELATING TO WORKS TO BE EXECUTED BY
THE COMPANY.

THE
SECOND SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO.

FINANCIAL PLAN.

1.—AMORTISATION.

The Share Capital of the Company from time to time paid up shall be amortised by the establishment of a fund on the basis of 4 per cent. compound interest computed with yearly rests on the amount thereof. Provided that the Amortisation Fund shall at no time exceed the amount of the Capital for the time being paid up and provided that any arrears of amortisation shall be a first charge on future profits.

2.—DEPRECIATION.

The Company shall be at liberty to set aside in each year of the term of the Concession after the first delivery of electrical energy to the consumers for the depreciation of:—

- (i.) Canals dams penstocks sluices pressure pipes power houses buildings machinery transmission lines etc. 4·5 per cent. of cost;
- (ii.) Distribution system 7 per cent. of cost.

3.—RESERVE.

The Company shall be at liberty to establish a Reserve Fund by setting aside not more than 10 per cent. in any one year of the moneys for the time being invested in the Concession provided that the whole of such Reserve Fund shall at no time exceed 50 per cent. of such moneys but that any depletion of the Reserve Fund from time to time may be made good.

- 4.—The total of the Depreciation and Reserve Funds shall at no time exceed the total amount of the moneys for the time being invested in the Concession.

APPENDIX II

LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTENDED TO ASSIST THE PREPARATION OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE MANDATORY POWER

(C. 553, M. 335, 1922, VI.—GENEVA, August 23rd, 1922.)

I. Jewish National Home (Article 2 of the Mandate).

1. What measures have been taken to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the national home for the Jewish people ?

What are the effects of these measures ?

2. What measures have been taken to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the development of self-governing institutions ?

What are the effects of these measures ?

3. What measures have been taken to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will safeguard the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion ?

What are the effects of these measures ?

II. Autonomous Administration (Article 3).

What measures have been taken to encourage local autonomy ?

What are the effects of these measures ?

III. Jewish Agency (Article 4).

1. When and in what manner has the Jewish agency been officially recognized ?

2. Has this agency given any advice to the Administration in the past year ?

If so, in what form and in what connection ?

3. What is the nature and extent of the co-operation of this agency with the Administration of Palestine in economic, social, and other matters ?

4. In what manner has this agency taken part in the development of the country (statistics of the results obtained) ?

5. What steps have been taken in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home ?

IV. Immigration and Emigration (Article 6).

1. What measures have been taken to facilitate Jewish immigration ?

2. What measures have been taken to safeguard the rights and position of other sections of the population ?

3. What measures have been taken in co-operation with the Jewish agency to encourage the close settlement by Jews on the land (give figures) ?

4. What are the effects of these measures ?

Statistics of immigration (country of origin, religion, race, profession, age, and sex). Geographical distribution within the country in the urban centres and in the rural districts.

Some statistics for emigration.

V. Land Régime (Article 6).

1. How have State lands been defined and delimited ?

2. How have waste lands been defined and delimited ?

3. What measures have been taken for the registration of real property ?

VI. Nationality (Article 7).

1. What is the text of the nationality law ?

2. Have special provisions been enacted, framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews ?

VII. Judicial System (Articles 8, 9, and 10).

1. When did the new judicial organization begin to operate ?

2. What special features does it include with a view to assuring to foreigners as well as to natives a complete guarantee of their rights as laid down in Article 9 ?

3. What special measures have been taken to assure respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities, and for their religious interests ?

4. How have the control and administration of Wakfs been assured ?

5. What extradition agreements have been made between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers since the coming into force of the Mandate ?

VIII. Economic Equality (Articles 11 and 18).

1. How have the interests of the community been safeguarded in the execution of measures taken to secure the development of the country in respect of public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services, and utilities ?

2. Has it been found necessary to arrange with the Jewish agency to construct or operate any public works, services, and utilities, or to develop any of the natural resources of the country, and, if so, under what circumstances ?

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3. Give a complete list of concessions and the names and nationalities of the concession holders.

4. Give the reports submitted to the company meetings and the balance sheets of these undertakings, or, when such reports and balance sheets are not available, give all information relating to the subject, particularly the rate of interest and the uses made of profits.

5. What provisions are made to secure economic equality as regards:

(a) Concessions ?

(b) Land tenure ?

(c) Mining rights (in particular, rules in regard to prospecting) ?

(d) Fiscal régime (direct and indirect taxation) ?

(e) Customs regulations (imports, exports, transit) ?

6. What regulations have the Mandatory Power made for the application of the clause providing "freedom of transit under equitable conditions" ?

7. Have any customs agreements been made by virtue of Article 18 ?

If so, give the text of such agreements.

IX. Holy Places (Articles 13 and 14).

1. What measures have been taken for the assumption by the Mandatory of responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites, including the responsibility of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship ?*

2. Which are the purely Moslem sacred shrines the immunities of which are guaranteed ?

* This question has been drafted in general terms and will be defined in detail when the Council has taken the decision provided for in Article 14 of the Mandate.

X. Freedom of Conscience (Articles 15 and 16).

1. What measures have been taken to assure freedom of conscience and religion ?

2. Have any restrictions been made upon the free exercise of any form of worship in the interest of the maintenance of public order and morals ?

What are the effects of such restrictions ?

3. What measures have been taken to assure the rights of communities to maintain their own schools for the education of their own members ?

What educational requirements of a general nature are imposed by the Administration ?

What measures have been taken to assure the exercise of such supervision over religious or any charitable bodies of all faiths or nationalities in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government ?

XI. Military Clauses (Article 17).

1. What is the form of military organization and training ?

2. Are there any police forces independent of the military charged with the defence of the territory ?

What is the respective importance of these two forces, and the amount spent on each ?

Racial and religious composition of these two forces.

3. Has there been any occasion for the Administration of Palestine to contribute to the cost of the maintenance of the military forces of the Mandatory Power ?

If so, to what extent ?

4. Has the Mandatory exercised its right to use the roads, railways, and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies ?

If so, to what budget has the expenditure been charged ?

XII. International Conventions (Articles 19 and 20).

1. To what international conventions has the Mandatory adhered on behalf of the Palestine Administration ?

2. What steps have been taken by the Mandatory to co-operate with the League of Nations in the struggle against disease, including diseases of plants and animals ?

XIII. Antiquities (Article 21).

Has the Mandatory enacted a law of antiquities according to the provisions laid down in Article 21 of the Mandate ?

Give the text.

XIV. Official Languages (Article 22).

1. Have the three official languages been used simultaneously and on an equal footing in legislative and administrative documents and in the courts ?

If not, what languages are used ?

2. To what observations does the application of this system give rise ?

XV. Holy Days (Article 23).

What days are recognized as holy days by the various communities ?

XVI. Trans-Jordania (Article 25).

1. Has the territory lying beyond the Jordan been finally delimited and organized ?

2. In what way does the political and administrative régime established in this territory differ from the regulations laid down for Palestine ?

XVII. Labour.

1. Have measures been taken to ensure, in accordance with Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles, the consideration of conventions or recommendations of International Labour Conferences ?

2. Are these conventions or recommendations being carried into effect ?

3. What other regulations are in force in regard to labour ?

4. What powers have the Administration for controlling labour contracts in order to ensure their loyal fulfilment both on the part of employer and employed, and what powers does it possess to prevent any abuses in this respect ?

5. What is the competent authority in regard to labour legislation, and what authority is responsible for the application of such legislation ?

XVIII. Trade in and Manufacture of Drugs.

Have measures been taken to secure the prohibition or the control of the importation, of the production, and the consumption of poisonous or narcotic drugs ?

XIX. Education.

1. What is the general system of elementary education (organization and statistics) ?

Is this education free for all, and, if not, in what cases is it free ?

2. What measures have been taken for higher education—for example, medical, veterinary, and technical education ?

3. In what languages is instruction given in the various categories of schools ?

XX. Public Health.

1. What steps are being taken to ensure public health and sanitation and to combat endemic and epidemic diseases ?

2. What is the régime for medical assistance ?

3. What is the actual situation as regards prostitution, and what measures have been taken in this matter ?

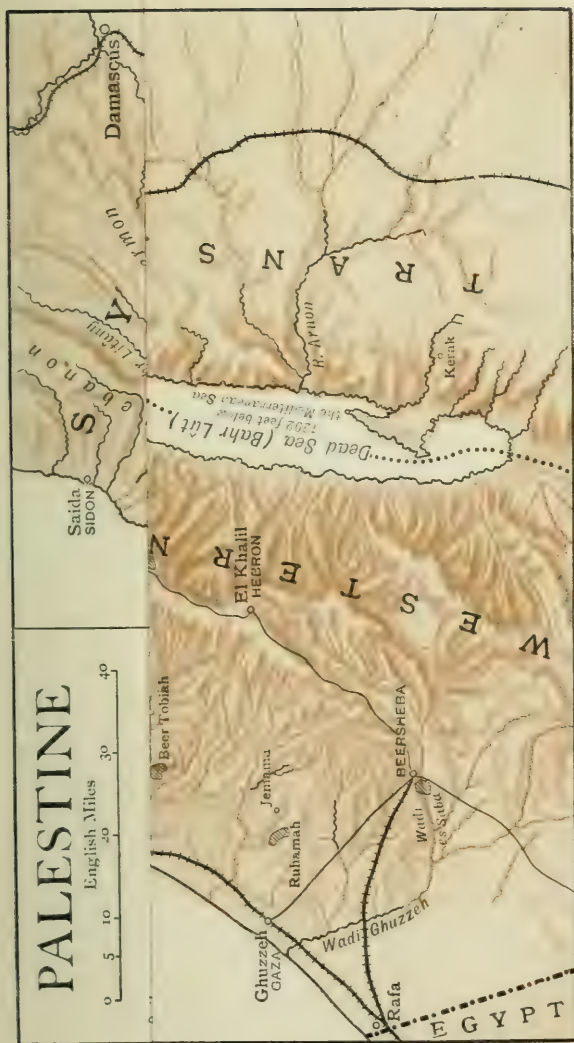
XXI. Public Finance.

A general schedule of the revenue and expenditure of the territory, the budgetary system, and indication of the nature and the assessment of taxes.

XXII. Demographic Statistics.

Statistics of births, marriages (polygamy), deaths, emigration, and immigration.

The Permanent Mandates Commission would be grateful to the Mandatory Powers if they would be good enough to add to the annual reports the text of all the legislative and administrative decisions taken with regard to each mandated territory in the course of the past year.



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

PALESTINE

English Miles

0 5 10 20 30 40

● Railways

— Main roads

■ Jewish Colonies

— Mandatory frontier

— Administrative boundary between

Western Palestine and Transjordan

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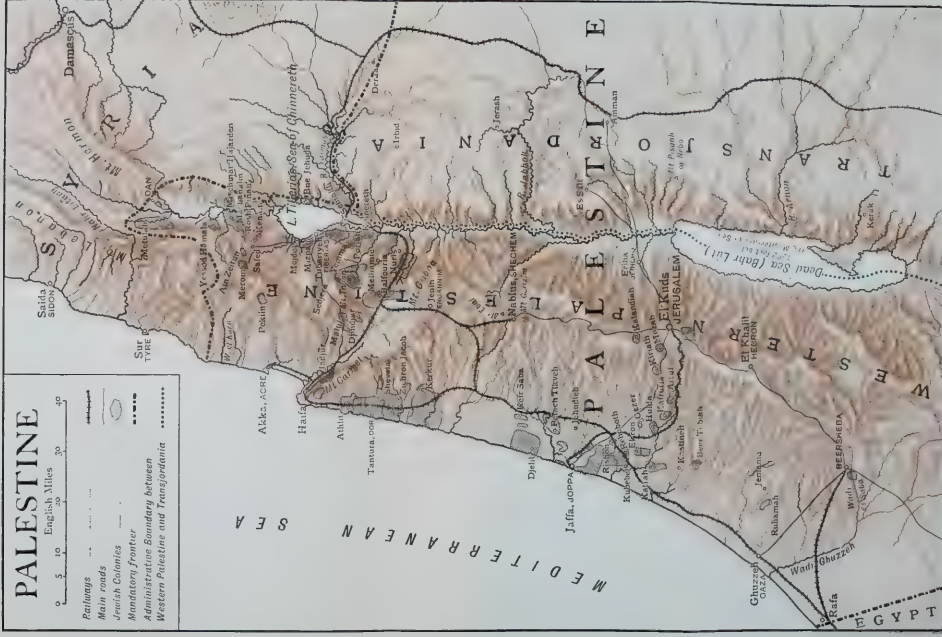
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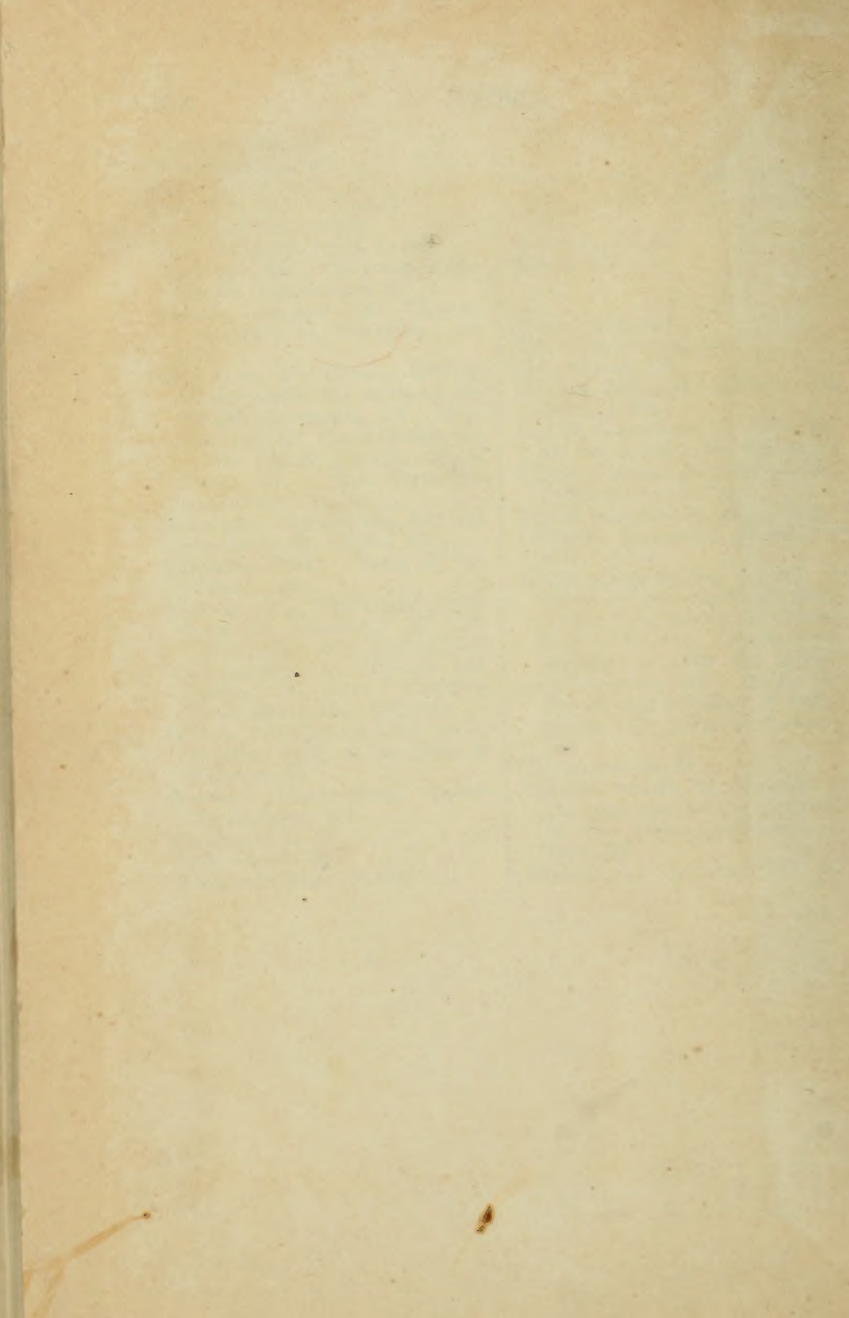
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